

A NEW AND IMPROVED  
ROMAN HISTORY,  
FROM THE  
*FOUNDATION OF THE CITY OF ROME,*  
TO ITS FINAL  
DISSOLUTION AS THE SEAT OF EMPIRE,  
IN THE YEAR OF CHRIST 476,  
AND  
INCLUDING A PERIOD OF ABOUT 1228 YEARS  
FROM ITS  
*COMMENCEMENT UNDER ROMULUS.*

BEING a more copious, authentic, and valuable HISTORY OF ROME than any extant, collected from the very best Sources; wherein all doubtful Occurrences are impartially examined, and the Mistakes or Misrepresentations of partial Historians corrected and demonstrated.

CONTAINING

A greater Variety of important Facts, and instructive and entertaining Inferences, than in any History yet offered to the Public, though of three or even five Times the Price.

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Designed for the Use of Schools.

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BY CHARLES ALLEN, A.M.

AUTHOR of the New and Improved HISTORY OF ENGLAND;

AND

EDITOR of the POLITE, POETICAL, and HISTORICAL PRECEPTORS,  
and other valuable WORKS for YOUNG PERSONS.

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# A D V E R T I S E M E N T

FROM THE

P R O P R I E T O R.

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**A**MONG the various and interesting Works which were preparing for the Press by the late Mr. CHARLES ALLEN, and interrupted by his bad State of Health, the present was advanced as far as the Reign of TIBERIUS. The Gentleman who completed his NEW and IMPROVED HISTORY OF ENGLAND, lately offered to the Public, has also cheerfully finished this Work; in which he has been influenced by the same Motives and Reasons as were there given for his engaging in that interesting History. He has heretofore experienced many Instances of public Favour, and flatters himself that he may, without Presumption, at this Time, anticipate their Candour and Approbation; trusting that the Work now communicated to the World, for the Benefit and Advantage of the rising Generation, will have a peculiar Claim and Recommendation, as an obvious and valuable Auxiliary in the great Business of Instruction.

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# P R E F A C E.

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THE very distinguished Place which a competent Knowledge of the ROMAN HISTORY possesses in a polite and learned Education, renders a Work of the Nature here presented of peculiar Importance. From the Mode of prosecuting this History, the Author's Design appears manifest; to steer in a middle Course, between a tedious Prolixity and a concise and obscure Brevity. For to one or the other of these Objections most of the Works of this Description have been liable; so as either to have rendered them too expensive for general Benefit, or, if that Disadvantage has been considered, an extreme Deficiency in the necessary Variety of historical Facts and Occurrences has been strikingly obvious.

HAPPILY as the Author may have succeeded in accomplishing such Object in the earlier Parts of this History; the busy Scenes of the remaining Part, which have fallen to the Lot of the Editor, required the greatest Attention to render the Continuation equally grateful and satisfactory. But his utmost Endeavours have been exerted for that Purpose; and the great Quantity of Matter, which the Proprietor's liberal and copious Plan has enabled him to crowd into the subsequent Sheets, has considerably lessened the Difficulty which at first occurred, of doing Justice to the Design, and at the same Time to reduce it within a limited Compass. As the Result of these Endeavours, he now submits the whole to the Candour and Judgment of the Public; and, by that Submission, he hopes their indulgent Approbation will be obtained, and a Patronage proportionably generous secured.

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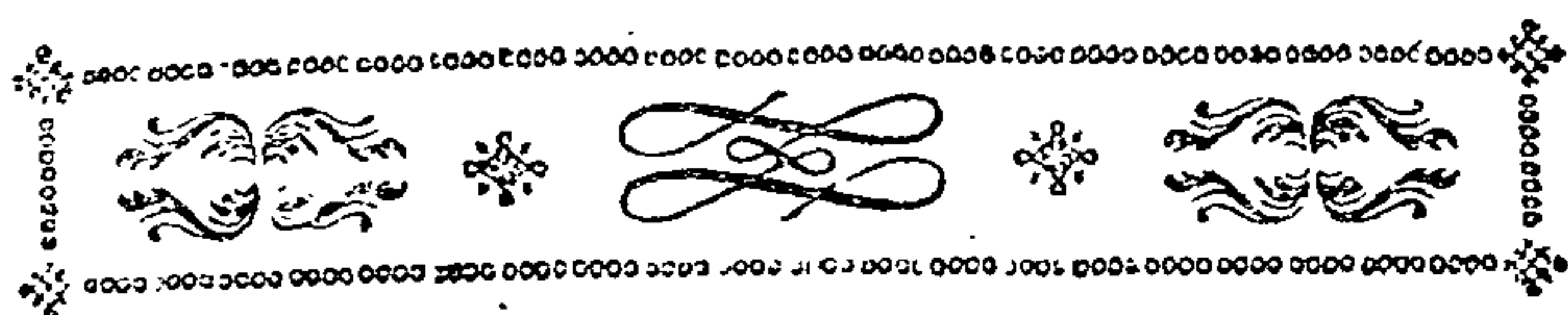
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T H E

# ROMAN HISTORY.

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## C H A P. I.

### OF THE ORIGIN OF THE ROMANS.

**T**HE early part of the Roman History, like that of almost all other histories, especially of all ancient histories, is involved in fable and obscurity. And, indeed, it is hardly possible it should be otherwise. For, while men were totally unacquainted with the art of printing, and but very imperfectly skilled in that of writing, and consequently were obliged to depend upon memory, and oral tradition, for the preservation of facts, it is not to be supposed, that these facts could be transmitted to posterity in their true, genuine, and proper colours. Ignorance in some, credulity in others, the love of the marvellous in a third set, the force of prejudice in a fourth; these, and a variety of similar causes, must naturally have tended to disfigure the truth, and to represent things in general as more grand and magnificent, more strange and wonderful than they really were. The Romans, though they afterwards became one of the most enlightened people in the world, yet being originally as ignorant and barbarous as their neighbours, naturally fell into this vulgar error; and not content with calling in the assistance of superior powers to the establishment of their state, were even desirous of being thought descended from the gods themselves.

**ÆNEAS**, according to the popular tradition, who was supposed to be the son of Venus and Anchises, escaping from the flames of Troy, set sail with a small party of his countrymen; and after meeting with a variety of adventures, which



are beautifully sung by Virgil in the first six books of the *Æneid*, arrived in Italy, where he was hospitably received by Latinus, king of the country, who even gave him his daughter Lavinia in marriage. This drew upon him the resentment of Turnus, king of the Rutuli, (a neighbouring people) to whom Lavinia had been promised before the arrival of the Trojan hero. A war, therefore, ensued between the two nations, in which both Turnus and Latinus were slain; and Æneas succeeding his father-in-law on the throne, built a city, which he called Lavinium in honour of his wife. His good fortune, however, was not of any long continuance; for entering, soon after, into another war with Mezentius, one of the petty kings of the country, and coming to an engagement, he indeed gained the victory, but at the same time lost his life, after a reign of four years. He was succeeded by his son Ascanius, whom, according to some, he had by his last wife Lavinia, but according to others, by his first wife Creusa, before he left Troy. This prince was likewise called Julius; and from him the Julian family pretended to derive both their name and pedigree. Of Ascanius we know little more than that, leaving Lavinium to his mother or step-mother, he built Alba Longa, which he made the capital of his kingdom, and where his posterity continued to reign for the space of four hundred and thirty years; for so long a time intervened between the building of that city and the foundation of Rome.

THE reigns of the succeeding kings of Alba, amounting in number to fourteen, were all of them equally barren with that of Ascanius: we know nothing of them but their names, which it is therefore needless to mention, until we come to the reign of Numitor, the last king, who was dethroned by Amulius, his younger brother; and in order to secure himself in his ill-got power, the usurper put to death his brother's son, Ægeus, and deprived his only daughter, Ilia, or Rhea Silvia, of all hopes of having posterity by appointing her one of the vestal virgins; an office, which obliged her to observe a perpetual virginity, or, in case of violating it, to undergo a cruel and ignominious death, no less than that of being buried alive. His barbarous policy, however, failed of its effect. Rhea Silvia proved with child, by the god Mars, as she gave out, whom she met, she said, in the sacred grove, as she was going to fetch water for one of the sacred offices of her religion, and who there forced her; though the general opinion was, that it was some young lover of her own, whom she met there by appointment; and there were not even wanting some who alledged, that Amulius himself had been guilty



of this double crime, of violating a vestal, and deflowering his own niece; a supposition, which his vicious life in other respects rendered the less improbable.

WHOEVER was the father, certain it is, that in due time Rhea Silvia was delivered of twins, who were afterwards known by the names of Romulus and Remus. Her own life was saved at the intercession of her cousin, the daughter of Amulius; but she was put in chains, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. As to the infants themselves, they were ordered to be thrown into the Tyber. It happened, however, at that time, that the river had overflowed its banks more than usual, and had converted the adjacent fields into a kind of pond, which made it impossible to approach the main stream; and the stagnant water, into which the children were thrown, was too shallow to drown them. Others say, that they were exposed in a cradle, and that, upon the water's retiring, they were left upon dry land; that a wolf, descending from the neighbouring mountains to drink, ran at their cry, and gave them suck; caressing and licking them as if they had been her own young; the infants hanging on her dugs as if she had been their mother; and that Faustulus, the king's shepherd, struck with this surprising sight, went and took them up, and carrying them home, delivered them to his wife Laurentia to nurse; who brought them up as her own. Some, however, imagine, that this is a mere fable, suggested by the circumstance of Laurentia's having acquired the name of wolf, or prostitute, on account of the dissolute life she had formerly led.

THE twins, however, thus born and thus preserved, distinguished themselves early by their enterprising spirit. At first, indeed, they confined themselves to the shepherd's life, working for their livelihood like others, and building their huts with their own hands. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, that one of these huts, called Romulus, still remained in his time, that is above 700 years after it was built. The indolence of the pastoral life, however, by no means suited the ardent spirit of the brothers. They soon betook themselves to hunting; and having, by this manly exercise, acquired at once both strength of body and vigour of mind, they turned their arms against the robbers of their country, whom they frequently stript of their plunder, and divided it among the shepherds. This naturally drew about them a crowd of all the most bold and daring spirits of the country, which soon increased to such a degree, as to enable them to hold assemblies and celebrate games. It was at the celebration of one of these games, that they were surprized by a party of

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robbers,

robbers, who had long watched for an opportunity of being revenged upon those who had so often interrupted them in their predatory excursions. Romulus escaped, but Remus was taken prisoner; and being carried before Amulius, was there accused of having committed depredations on the lands of Numitor. To Numitor, therefore, he was sent to undergo such punishment as that prince might think proper to inflict upon him.

FAUSTULUS had long suspected, that the twins under his care were the very same that had been exposed by Amulius on the river. He therefore imparted his suspicion to Remulus, who very readily embraced an opinion, that was well calculated to flatter his pride and gratify his ambition. In the mean time Numitor made the same discovery to Remus; and from comparing all circumstances, the age of the youths, (now about eighteen) the time of their being exposed, the manner of their being found, and a variety of other particulars, no doubt was entertained but they were the grandsons of Numitor. A plan therefore was immediately laid for dethroning Amulius and restoring Numitor; and both their schemes were happily accomplished by the death of the usurper, who was killed at the first assault in his own palace.

THE ambition of the brothers, however, was too great to be satisfied with the distant prospect of succeeding their grandfather when he should die. They, therefore, resolved to build a new city on the very spot on which they had been exposed; and as, from the circumstance of their being twins, neither of them could claim any right of precedence before the other, they agreed, by the advice of Numitor, to determine that point by consulting the will of heaven from observing the flight of birds. For this purpose, each of them attended by their respective partizans, (for their followers were now split into parties) took possession of a different hill; Romulus of the Palatine, and Remus of the Aventine. Remus saw birds first; he discovered six vultures: but the very next moment Romulus saw twelve. Each of them claimed the victory; Remus, as having seen the birds first; Romulus, as having seen the greatest number. This produced a quarrel between them: from words they soon came to blows, and Remus was killed in the scuffle. Some give a different account of the manner of his death. They say, that Remus having, in contempt of his brother, leaped over the city wall, in order to shew how insufficient it was for the defence of the place, was struck dead upon the spot by Romulus, with this expression—"So perish every one that shall dare for the future to overleap my walls!"



## C H A P. II.

ROMULUS, *the First King of Rome.*

ROMULUS, being now left without a rival, applied himself to the building of the city with equal diligence and success. According to the most probable account (for authors differ on this subject) it was begun in the year of the world 3252, and 752 years before Christ. It was called Rome in honour of its founder, and was situated on the Palatine hill on which he had taken his successful omen. It contained at first about a thousand houses, was nearly a mile in circumference, and possessed a small territory round it, of about five or six miles in diameter. Small however as it was, it was still worse inhabited; and Romulus therefore took a very effectual method to furnish it with people. He opened an asylum for slaves and outlaws, and such as were fond of novelty; and these flocked in from all quarters in such numbers as soon replenished the city with inhabitants. Romulus's next care was to introduce some sort of civil government among his new colonists; and in doing this, as he was willing to acquire the praise of moderation, he very wisely left them to their own choice, and they, in return for this mark of disinterestedness, unanimously chose him for their first king. He was accordingly acknowledged as head of their religion, first magistrate of the city, and general of their armies. Of the religion of the ancient Romans we know little but that it consisted in some vain attempts to discover the will of heaven and the destinies of men by observing the flight of birds, or inspecting the entrails of beasts; and that these ceremonies were performed by the priests, who were called Augurs or Aruspices. Ridiculous as these ceremonies might appear, Romulus now ordained, that no election should be made, nor any enterprize of importance undertaken, without first performing them.

In order to enable him to know the better in what manner to arrange his subjects, he began first by ascertaining their number, and found they amounted to three thousand foot, and about as many hundred horsemen, capable of bearing arms. These he divided into three tribes (answering in some measure to our wards), and to each he assigned a different part of the city to inhabit. Each tribe was afterwards subdivided into ten *curiæ* (corresponding in some degree to our

parishes), consisting of an hundred men each, with a centurion to command it; a priest, called *curio*, to perform the sacrifices; and two of the principal inhabitants, called *dumviri*, to administer justice.

HAVING thus provided for the external defence of the city, he next began to take such steps as he judged to be most proper for securing its internal tranquillity; and as he found it impossible to discharge properly, in person, the various duties of his office, he proposed to devolve part of them upon the oldest, the wisest, and the most respectable of his subjects. It was with this view that he established the senate. He contented himself, indeed, with naming the first senator, whom, at the same time, he appointed to be governor of the city, in case of his own absence: the choice of the rest he left entirely to the people. Accordingly, the three tribes chose each of them three senators, and each of the thirty *curiæ* did the same. These, joined to the one named by the king, made the whole number amount to a hundred, which was the precise number they consisted of at first. They were called senators on account of their age, and *patres*, or fathers, from the fatherly care they were supposed to take of the people. Their descendants were stiled patricians, and this was the first origin of nobility among the Romans. All the rest of the people, that were not included in the rank of patricians, were denominated plebeians.

BETWEEN these two, indeed, there was a kind of middle order, but approaching much nearer to the latter than the former. This was the order of knights, the institution of which was as follows—Each of the thirty *curiæ*, by the direction of Romulus, chose ten young men, who being furnished with horses, were formed into a body, that served ever after as a guard to the king's person, and particularly fought around him in time of action. From the name of their first commander, which was Celer, or from the swiftness and rapidity of their motions, they were stiled *Celeres*; and from the horse, with which they were provided by the public, they were called *Equites*, and their order the equestrian order. Besides this guard, the king was attended by another, composed of twelve men, called lictors, each of them carrying a battle-axe, tied up in a bundle of rods. These walked constantly before him, and were always ready to execute his orders, particularly in punishing malefactors.

THE senate was possessed of very great power. All the important affairs of state were transacted in it; and though the king presided, he had no more than a single vote like any private senator: every thing was determined by a majority of voices.



voices. The privileges of the patricians were likewise very considerable. They alone were capable of being elected to any office, whether civil or military, or of being advanced to the priesthood; so that upon all vacancies of this kind, the plebeians had no other choice left than to fix upon some patrician to whom they might give their vote, for upon one or other of that order they must necessarily fix at last. But though the people might thus seem to have divested themselves of all power in the state, they had yet retained in their own hands the supreme authority; for no law, that was made by the king or the senate, was of any validity until it had been confirmed in their assemblies. In their assemblies were likewise ratified every thing relating to peace or war, the election of magistrates, and even the choice of a king. Their power, however, in these respects, was by no means unlimited. As they had a negative upon the other branches of the legislature, the others had the same upon them, so that nothing which they did could have the force of a law until it had been sanctioned by the senate. Such was the nature of the Roman government, which, somewhat like our own, consisted of three distinct orders, the king, the senate, and the people, each of them intended as a check upon the other, and to prevent any one of them from abusing the power with which they were invested.

OF Romulus's civil laws there are still some fragments to be found in history. One of them relates to married women. It decrees, that they shall not leave their husbands upon any pretence whatever: at the same time it permits the husband to repudiate his wife, and even to put her to death, with the consent of her relations, if she was convicted of adultery, of poisoning, of making false keys, or only of drinking wine. His laws with regard to parents and children were still more severe. The father had an absolute power over his offspring, both of life and fortune. He could imprison them or even put them to death: he could sell them for slaves three times over, whatever age they had attained, or whatever dignities they had possessed. If they were born with any deformity, he could expose them upon giving previous notice of his intention to five of his next neighbours; but if he neglected this ceremony, half his effects were confiscated into the public treasury. Romulus's laws with regard to enemies were much more humane. It was forbidden to kill them after they had surrendered, or even to sell them; his view in making war upon the neighbouring nations being not to extirpate them, but only to convert them from inveterate foes into faithful subjects.



IN order to prevent the envy that might naturally have arisen in the breasts of the plebeians on account of the superior privileges possessed by the patricians, Romulus introduced a most excellent custom. He permitted every plebeian to choose a patron from among the senators, and the ties that bound these classes of men together were of the strongest kind. The patron was obliged to assist the client (so the other was called) with his counsel and advice; to explain to him the laws; to plead his cause before the judges; to protect him from all kind of injury; in a word, to consult and promote his interest with as much zeal and assiduity as if he had been his own child. The client, on his part, was equally bound to attach himself to the interest of his patron; to help him, if poor, to portion his daughters, to pay his debts, or his ransom, if taken prisoner in war; to follow him on every service of danger; whenever he stood candidate for an office, he was obliged to give him his vote; and neither patron nor client could appear as evidence against each other in a court of justice. These reciprocal duties were esteemed so sacred, that whoever violated them, was looked upon as infamous; nay, it was even thought lawful to kill him as a person guilty of sacrilege.

BUT though Romulus had made so great a difference in point of honour between the two classes of his subjects (for originally there were but two) he made very little in point of fortune. All the lands of the state he divided into thirty equal parts according to the number of the curiæ; and after reserving a sufficient portion for public uses and the service of religion, he gave one of these parts to each curiæ, so that when the ground came to be subdivided, little more than two acres fell to the lot of any single man.

ROMULUS having now taken every step he could think of for regulating the present government of his subjects, began to cast his eyes towards futurity; and he plainly perceived, that, unless he could procure a supply of women, the Roman state must terminate with the lives of its present members. By the advice, therefore, of the senate, he sent ambassadors to the Sabines, his nearest neighbours, entreating a matrimonial alliance with them, and upon these terms offering to enter into the strictest bonds of friendship with them. The Sabines were then considered as the most warlike people in Italy; and whether it was that they disdained to give their daughters in marriage to men of such obscure origin as the Romans, or that they already began to look upon Rome as a growing state that might soon become dangerous to her neighbours, they rejected the proposal in the most peremptory

tory manner. Some of them even added raillery to their refusal; asking the ambassadors why, when their master opened an asylum for fugitive slaves, he did not likewise open one for prostitute women? for that that would have furnished them with suitable matches, in which neither party could upbraid the other.

ROMULUS was not of a spirit patiently to put up with such a studied indignity. He resolved to take a signal vengeance, and at the same time to obtain that by force which he saw he could not procure by gentle methods. Meanwhile he concealed his relentment, and only gave out, that he intended to celebrate a festival in honour of Neptune. These festivals were generally preceded by sacrifices, and always ended in shows of wrestlers, gladiators, and chariot races. Romulus expected that most of the neighbouring people would come to the feast. Nor was he disappointed. The Sabines were the first that made their appearance, accompanied by their wives and daughters; and their example was followed by the Ceninenfes, Antemnates, Crustuminians, and other petty states. They were all of them received by the Romans with the greatest marks of friendship, and after being entertained in their houses, were placed in the most convenient situation for seeing the sports.

In the mean time the games began; and while the eyes of the strangers were fixed upon the show, a number of Roman youth rushed into the assembly sword in hand, seized the youngest and most beautiful women, and instantly carried them off. In vain did the parents protest against this breach of hospitality; in vain did the virgins themselves oppose the attempts of their ravishers. Romulus went about among them, soothing and consoling them. He said, that he intended them no violence; that they had nobody to blame but their fathers, who had scornfully and cruelly rejected his proposals; he therefore intreated them to be pacified, and to surrender their hearts to those whom fortune had put in possession of their persons; and in order the more effectually to reconcile them to their fate, he caused them to be immediately married to those who had carried them off, and who thus from cruel ravishers, became their lawful, and in a little time their beloved husbands.

BUT however soon the virgins might have been satisfied, their parents were by no means so easily appeased: these breathed nothing but war and vengeance. The Ceninenfes were the first that took up arms; but Romulus marching against them, overthrew their forces, slew their king Acron in single combat, and entering Rome with the royal spoils upon his



shoulders, which was the origin of the Roman triumph, made an offering of them to Jupiter Feretrius on the spot where the capitol was afterwards built. The Antemnates and Crustumilians were equally unsuccessful: Romulus defeated their armies, and took their towns; but instead of destroying them, he only placed Roman colonies in them, to protect his dominions against the incursions of more distant enemies.

THE Sabines were the last, though not the least powerful people that undertook to revenge the affront offered to their daughters. They entered the Roman territories to the number of twenty-five thousand men; and Tatius, their king, added stratagem to strength: for having got into his hands Tarpeia, daughter to the commander of the Capitoline hill, who had come without the walls to draw water, he prevailed upon her, by means of large promises, to open one of the gates to his army. The reward she engaged for, was what the soldiers wore on their left arms, by which she meant their bracelets. But they, either mistaking her meaning, or detesting her treachery, and willing to have it believed that they had taken the place by force and not by fraud, threw their bucklers upon her as they entered, and crushed her to death.

THE Sabines, however, being now masters of the Capitoline hill, there was an absolute necessity for driving them from it, or yielding up the city to them entirely. A general engagement, accordingly, very soon took place, and dreadful havoc was made on both sides; when the women, who had been carried off by the Romans, forgetting the natural timidity of their sex, and with their garments rent and their hair dishevelled, rushed in amidst a shower of darts between the two armies, and endeavoured to part them. "You are all, (cried they, addressing themselves first to one side and then to the other) you are all united by the sacred names of sons-in-law and fathers-in-law; pollute not yourselves with blood that cannot be shed without guilt. Brand not your wretched children, sons of the one, and grandsons of the other, with the indelible stain of being descended from a race of parricides. If the alliance, contracted between you by our marriage, be so grievous to you, turn your arms against us, since we only are the cause of the quarrel. It will be much better for us to perish by your hands, than to survive either of you, as in that case we must either be widows or orphans." With this pathetic speech, and this tender spectacle, both sides were so deeply affected, that they instantly let fall their arms; and a truce first, and soon after a treaty was concluded between them, by which it was agreed, that Romulus and Tatius should reign jointly in Rome with the same power and the same

same marks of distinction; that an hundred Sabines should be admitted into the senate; that the city should still retain its former name, but that the people in general should be called Quirites, from Cures, the capital of the Sabines; and that the two nations being thus united, as many of the Sabines as chose it, should be permitted to settle at Rome, and should to all intents and purposes become Roman citizens. By this treaty Rome doubled the number of her inhabitants and the extent of her territory; and Tatius being killed about five years after in a tumult at Lavinium, all the powers of royalty reverted to Romulus.

TOWARDS the latter end of his reign Romulus is said to have grown arbitrary and tyrannical. This drew upon him the resentment of the people, and particularly of the senate, whose authority he had endeavoured to depress. The manner of his death is not exactly known. Some say, that he was murdered in the senate-house; and in order the better to conceal the deed, that each of the senators carried away a piece of the body under his robe. Others pretend, that he suddenly disappeared in the midst of a tempest while he was reviewing his army, and from that time forward was never seen more. This seems to have been a story invented by the senators, to conceal the share they had in his death, and furnished them with an opportunity of persuading the people, that he was taken up into heaven; in consequence of which a temple was built to him under the name of Quirinus: and thus him whom they could not endure as a king, they were contented to worship as a God. Romulus died in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, and the fifty-fifth of his age.

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### C H A P. III.

#### N U M A P O M P I L I U S.

[ANN. ROM. 38.]

**R**OMULUS left no children behind him, if, indeed, he ever had any; and as his death was altogether unexpected, no steps had been taken to provide him a successor from another family. To prevent things, therefore, from falling into confusion, the senators undertook to manage the affairs of the public, each in his turn, for the space of five days, and during that time were to enjoy all the powers and prerogatives of royalty. This interregnum continued for a



twelvemonth, at the end of which the people being tired of obeying so many masters instead of one, insisted upon the senate's proceeding to the election of a new sovereign.

To do this, however, to the satisfaction of all parties, was no easy matter. The Romans were desirous of having the king chosen from among them : the Sabines, on the other hand, were no less eager for the sovereign's being elected out of their nation. To end the dispute it was at last agreed to determine by lot which of them should exercise the right of election, but with this proviso, that whichever of them exercised it, they should be obliged to make their choice from the other party ; and the right at length falling to the Romans, they pitched upon a Sabine, called Numa Pompilius, for king. And indeed they could not have fixed upon a more proper person. From Romulus they had learned the art of war ; they were now to learn the arts of peace from Numa ; and no man in that rude age, and hardly indeed in any other, seems to have been better qualified for instructing the people in all the duties of social and civilized life. He had long been celebrated over the whole neighbouring country for his probity, his piety, his moderation, and justice, and almost every other mild and amiable virtue ; and it was merely his high character in these respects that now procured him the offer of a crown, which, however, for some time, he refused to accept, as being altogether inconsistent with that quiet and peaceable life he had hitherto led and still wished to continue ; nor could any thing overcome his reluctance but the earnest entreaties of his friends, and the importunity of the Roman ambassadors, who came to make him a tender of the sovereignty.

At last, however, he suffered himself to be persuaded ; and removing from Cures, where he then dwelt, to Rome, he entered upon the exercise of his royal functions. The first step he took was to disband the guard of 300 celeres, or light horse, which Romulus had established to attend upon his person ; observing, at the same time, that he would have nothing about him that betrayed the least jealousy of the people he governed. Being as fond of peace as Romulus was of war, he did every thing in his power to reconcile the Romans to the disuse of arms. With this view he built the temple of Janus, which was to be open in time of war, and shut in peace, as it was during his whole reign ; a circumstance that never happened but twice from this period to the reign of Augustus.

CONVINCED that religion is the best support of morality, he endeavoured to inspire his subjects with a strong love of piety, and a veneration for the gods. It was for this purpose that he built a number of other temples, instituted a variety  
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of sacred feasts and festivals, and established an order of priests to superintend the celebration of religious rites. He likewise regulated the order of vestals, which had been established before, as appears from the case of Rhea Sylvia, the mother of Romulus. He now raised their number to four, which was afterwards encreased to six; and at that number they continued ever after. Their business was to watch the holy fire, that was for ever kept burning in the temple of Vesta: if it went out, it could only be rekindled at the rays of the sun; and the vestal, through whose negligence such an accident had happened, was scourged like a slave. The vestals were to serve in the temple for the space of thirty years, during which they were obliged to observe the most inviolate chastity, to which they had previously bound themselves by a vow, and if they were found to have broken that vow, they were condemned to suffer the most dreadful punishment: they were buried alive. To reward them for these hardships, or acts of self-denial, they were entitled to very great honours and privileges. They had a right to make a will in their father's life-time. They were exempted from the necessity of taking an oath, and were believed in courts of justice on their simple affirmation. When they appeared in public, they were attended by a lictor, with the fasces, or ensigns of royalty. If, in their walks, they happened to meet a criminal leading to execution, that single circumstance procured the culprit a pardon, upon their declaring that the meeting was the effect of chance, and not of design. They were admitted into the order some time between the age of six and ten; and after the expiration of their thirty years service, they were at liberty to marry, though few of them availed themselves of that indulgence.

BESIDES the Flamines and Pontifices, which he had already established, he instituted two other orders of priests, called Salii and Feciales, the one to take care of the sacred shields or Ancilia, which he pretended had dropped down from heaven, and which, while they remained in Rome, would serve as a perpetual safeguard to the city; the other to judge of the equity of war, and to proclaim it with due solemnity. Knowing that industry is the best preservative of peace, as it leads men to live upon the produce of their own labour, instead of seizing upon that of others, as warriors in general are wont to do, he divided the lands, that had been conquered by Romulus, among the poorer citizens, and by his precepts and example encouraged a taste for agriculture. To destroy the distinction between the Romans and the Sabines, and to incorporate them thoroughly into one people, he divided them  
according

according to their several trades and occupations, making every trade a particular company. He softened the rigour of the laws with regard to parents and children, making it unlawful for a father to sell his son after marriage, because he thought it unjust that a woman, who had married a freeman, should be compelled to live with a slave. He reformed the kalendar, which was very much out of order in his time, the year then consisting only of ten months. Numa added two months more, viz. January and February, and made the whole number amount to twelve. To give the greater force to his various institutions, and make the people look upon them as something more than human, he said they were suggested to him by the goddess Egeria, with whom he pretended to have a particular correspondence; and as the Romans were then very ignorant, and consequently very superstitious, he easily gained credit to this pious fraud. Having thus reigned forty-three years, during which he had rendered his subjects much more humane and civilized than he found them, he died at the age of eighty; ordering his body, instead of being burned according to the custom of the times, to be buried in a stone coffin, and his books of ceremonies, which consisted of twelve in Latin, and as many in Greek, to be buried, by his side, in another. These books were taken up about four hundred years after, and because it was thought impious to reveal to the vulgar the mysteries they contained, they were burned by an order of the senate.

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## C H A P. IV.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS, *the Third King of Rome.*

[ANN. ROM. 32.]

NUMA is said to have had three sons, from whom three of the most illustrious families in Rome are supposed to have descended; and hence it is, that Horace calls the Piso's the progeny of Numa: but as the crown was then elective and not hereditary, the people chose Tullus Hostilius as his successor. This man was the son of a noble Roman, named Hostus Hostilius, who had distinguished himself remarkably in the war against the Sabines, while they were possessed of the capitol; and as he was of as martial a disposition as his father, and even more enterprising than Romulus himself, he was only, on that account, the more acceptable to the Romans, who



who began to grow tired of the peaceable life they had led under Numa. Nor was it long before he had an opportunity of gratifying at once his own propensity and that of his subjects, by engaging in a war with the Albans.

THE pretence for this war was the mutual depredations committed upon each other's territories; but the real cause seems to have been the ambition of the two states, each of which aspired at a superiority over its neighbour. The hostile armies met about five miles from Rome, and were just upon the point of engaging, when Metius Suffetius, general of the Albans, stepped forward, and proposed terminating the dispute by single combat, upon this condition, that whichever of the champions should be overcome, their nation should be obliged to obey the other. The proposal was readily accepted by Tullus; and the decision of the contest was left to three twin-brothers on either side. Those on the side of the Romans were called Horatii; those on the side of the Albans, Curiatii. They are said to have been cousin-germans, being the sons of two sisters. When the previous steps were properly adjusted, the combatants met; and remembering that not their own safety only, but the fate of their country, depended upon their prowess, they fought with a courage and resolution becoming the importance of the prize that was now at stake. At the first shock two of the Horatii fell breathless to the ground, and the three Curiatii were all of them wounded. The surviving Horatius was still unhurt; but finding himself unable to contend with his three antagonists in a body, he endeavoured to separate them by pretending to fly, thinking they would follow him with greater or less rapidity as their wounds would permit. Nor was he disappointed; for soon looking behind, he saw them pursuing him at very unequal distances: when turning upon the first, he laid him dead at his feet; then advancing to the second, he made him share the same fate; and at last coming up to the third, "two of you," said he, "I have already sacrificed to the manes of my brothers; I will now sacrifice you to the glory of my country, and, by putting an end to this war, will acquire for Rome a superiority over Alba." So saying he plunged his dagger in his breast, and seized upon his spoils. Returning triumphant at the head of the Roman army, he met his sister at one of the city gates. She, it seems, had been betrothed to one of the Curiatii, to whom she had made a present of a military robe, which she now saw upon her brother's shoulder, among the other trophies of his victory. Struck with this melancholy sight, and more deeply afflicted with her own private loss, than overjoyed at the prosperity

prosperity of her country, she broke out into loud lamentations for the death of her lover, and the most bitter execrations against her brother, as the cause of that misfortune. Horatius was but ill able to bear such an unseasonable interruption to the general joy. Provoked at his sister's unmerited reproaches, and hardly yet restored to his usual composure, he instantly stabbed her, exclaiming at the same time, " Thus perish every one that shall dare for the future to lament the death of an enemy to Rome ? " All men were shocked at this barbarous deed. Even the glory of his late victory could hardly screen him from the odium attending it, and still less from the rigour of the laws. He was immediately summoned before the criminal judges, who condemned him to death ; nor was it without an appeal to the people, and at the earnest entreaty of his father, who justified the action, and besought his countrymen not to make entirely childless, that he was able to obtain a pardon.

THE only other incident in Tullus's reign that is worthy of notice, is the punishment he inflicted on Metius Suffetius, the Alban general, who had incurred the displeasure of his countrymen, by committing the fate of the nation to the issue of a single combat. In order to remedy this mistake, and recover his lost popularity, Metius contrived to involve the Romans in a fresh war with the Veientes and Fidenates, hoping it would furnish him with some plausible pretext for delivering his country from that yoke to which it had submitted. When the hostile armies met, and were upon the point of engaging, Metius, who, by the late treaty, was bound to assist the Romans, and had actually joined them with his forces, withdrew his troops to a neighbouring hill, there intending to wait the issue of the battle, and then declare for the strongest party. Tullus immediately perceived his design, and in order to prevent him from carrying it into execution, called out aloud, that it was by his command that Metius had retired to the hill, with a view of falling upon the enemy in their rear. This naturally filled them with such dread and terror, that they betook themselves to flight, and were pursued by the Romans with considerable slaughter. After the battle, Tullus assembled his army, consisting both of Romans and Albans ; and having clearly explained to them the nature of Metius's design, and the treacherous view with which it was concerted, he caused him to be tied by the legs and arms to two chariots, each of them drawn by four horses ; and these being driven different ways tore his body in pieces. This, say the historians, was the first and last time that such a punishment was



was inflicted by the Romans, and the only one in which they seem to have forgot the laws of humanity.

IMMEDIATELY after the punishment of Metius, Tullus caused the city of Alba to be demolished, and its inhabitants transplanted to Rome, where the principal of them were admitted into the senate, and the inferior sort distributed into the different tribes, and thus were, to all intents and purposes, rendered Roman citizens. This was the last war of any consequence in which Tullus was engaged. He died after a reign of thirty-two years, according to some by lightning, but according to others by private assassination.

## C H A P. V.

### ANCUS MARTIUS, *the Fourth King of Rome.*

[ANN. ROM. 115.]

THE death of Tullus Hostilius was succeeded by an interregnum in the same manner as that of his predecessor. After some time, however, the people chose for king Ancus Martius, the grandson of Numa; and this they did not so much in compliment to the memory of that great prince, as on account of the personal merit of Ancus himself; for the Romans seem to have had no idea of hereditary right, but always bestowed the supreme power upon him whom they thought to be best qualified for discharging the duties belonging to it. Nor were they disappointed in their present choice; for as they now stood in need of a prince that could inspire them with habits of industry, and check their immoderate propensity to war, which was certainly their ruling passion, they could not have pitched upon a man that was more capable of effecting these salutary purposes than Ancus. In imitation of his grandfather, he applied himself at first entirely to the arts of peace. He rebuilt in a more magnificent manner the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, which Romulus had originally erected. He fortified the hill Janiculum, and united it to the city, by throwing a wooden bridge over the Tyber. He inclosed the Aventine hill with a wall, and settled on it those nations that had lately been subdued. And as the people were now become very numerous, and consequently very licentious, in order the better to overawe malefactors, he built a large prison in the middle of the city, and within sight of Forum. He likewise built a town at the mouth of the Tyber, which, on account of its situation, he called Ostia; and in  
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the neighbourhood of it he dug some salt-pits, which enabled him to supply the city with a sufficient quantity of that article.

FINDING, however, that the neighbouring states, and particularly the Latins, the Sabines, and the Volsci, looked upon these occupations rather as marks of fear than indications of wisdom, and that they were thereby tempted to make incursions into the Roman territories, Ancus began, however reluctantly, to assemble an army. Previous, however, to his marching against the enemy, he thought it but consistent with the character he had hitherto maintained of a peaceable prince, to declare war in form against them. A herald, therefore, proceeding to their borders, cried out with a loud voice—“Hear, O Jupiter, and thou Juno; hear, Quirinus; hear, ye celestial, terrestrial, and infernal gods; I call you all to witness, that the Latins are unjust; and as they have injured the Roman people, and refuse to make reparation, I and the Romans, with the consent of the senate, declare war against them.” This was the form of words used in declaring war; it is particularly described by Livy; and it is evident from it, that no mention is made of the king, but that every thing was done in the name, and by the authority of the people, that is, of the whole body of the nation.

HAVING taken this necessary step, as he considered it, Ancus advanced against the enemy, and soon convinced them, that, notwithstanding the tranquil life he had hitherto led, he was as well qualified for conducting the operations of war, as for superintending the less splendid indeed, but, at the same time, the more useful works of peace. He defeated the Latins in several engagements; he took and demolished their cities, and by removing the inhabitants to Rome, he at once increased the number of his own subjects, and diminished that of the enemy. He repressed the inroads of the Volscians, the Fidenates and Veientes; and over the Sabines he obtained a complete victory. Having thus secured the tranquillity of his dominions, he passed the rest of his days in quiet, and died after a reign of twenty-four years, leaving two sons behind him under the care of Lucius Tarquinius, who afterwards succeeded him on the throne by the name of Tarquinius Priscus.

## C H A P. VI.

TARQUINIUS PRISCUS, *the Fifth King of Rome.*

[ANN. ROM. 138.]

TARQUINIUS Priscus was originally named Lucumo. He was the son of Damaratus, a rich merchant of Corinth, who being obliged to leave his country on account of some disturbances there, came and settled at Tarquinia, where he married a woman of family, and had by her two sons, Aruns, and this Lucumo. Aruns dying in his father's lifetime, Lucumo succeeded to the whole fortune, and espoused Tanaquil, a Tarquinian lady of high rank, who being dissatisfied at the little respect shewn to her husband on account of his foreign extraction and his mercantile profession, advised him to remove to Rome, where merit alone paved the way to nobility. He very readily took her advice, and immediately set out with his wife and whole family. Historians tell us, that upon his approaching the city, an eagle, stooping from above, took off his hat, and after flying round his chariot for some time with a loud noise, put it on again. His wife Tanaquil, who is said to have been well skilled in augury, considered this as a happy omen, and embracing her husband with great tenderness, assured him that it plainly portended he should one day wear the crown. His great wealth procured him a favourable reception at Rome; and the more so, as he generously offered to deposit the whole of it in the public treasury for the use of the nation. He now changed his name to that of Tarquinius, in allusion to the city of Tarquinia, where he was born. The name of Priscus was afterwards added, to distinguish him from Tarquin the Proud.

His affability, generosity, and politeness, every day gained him new friends, and in a little time he became the most popular man in Rome. The king at length was informed of his character, and expressed a desire to see him; and after conversing with him for some time, he frankly acknowledged, that his merit was still greater than his fame. He entrusted him with the management of several public affairs, and always found, that he discharged his duty in such a manner, as to shew he had abilities for a much higher station than what he then filled. At last, as the strongest proof he could give of his entire confidence in him, he committed to him the guardianship of his two sons. This it probably was, that first inspired Tarquin with



with the thoughts of procuring the crown for himself. He has been accused of ambition in presuming to aspire to the crown at all, and of ingratitude in endeavouring to supplant the sons of his benefactor. But both these charges appear to be groundless. Two foreigners, Tatius and Numa, had already wore the crown, and as the eldest son of Ancus was only fourteen years of age, he was consequently incapable of being elected, or of wielding the reins of government. To prevent, however, any factious persons making use of this circumstance to raise a commotion, he took care to have the two youths sent out of the way on the day of election; and when that arrived, he had hardly any-thing else to do than to explain his pretensions to the people, who being fully convinced that there was not in Rome a more deserving man than him, readily gave him their votes, and raised him to the royalty.

His first care after his election was to reward his friends, and increase his popularity by admitting a hundred of the most eminent of the plebeians into the rank of knights, and even into the number of senators, who now amounted to three hundred instead of two, which was their former complement. He likewise increased the number of vestals, by adding two to the four that were formerly appointed. But his peaceful occupations were soon interrupted by the restless disposition of his neighbours, particularly the Latins, the Tuscans, and Sabines, who became every day more and more jealous of the growing power and prosperity of Rome, and who probably foresaw their own subjection as the inevitable consequence of her acquiring more strength. To give a check, therefore, to her rising greatness, they eagerly watched for some favourable opportunity of declaring war against her. Tarquin easily dived into their design, and resolved to be before-hand with them. He marched out against them, defeated them in several engagements, took and destroyed many of their towns, and having thus reduced them all to submission, he was again at leisure to apply himself to works of peace, which were much more agreeable to his inclination. He built a number of shops and other houses round the forum, the place where justice was administered, where the markets were kept, and where the assemblies of the people were held. He rebuilt with large stones, and in a regular stile, the walls of Rome, which had formerly been huddled up in a very clumsy manner. He constructed a number of aqueducts for supplying the people with water.

BUT the greatest of all his undertakings was the common sewers, which he formed for draining off the filth of the city, and



and conveying it into the Tyber. These, indeed, were so magnificent, that a waggon, loaded with hay, might pass under the vaults; and eight hundred years after they were constructed, Pliny observes that they were still objects worthy of admiration. We may likewise form some judgment of them from what is related by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, viz. that these sewers having in time become obstructed by rubbish, so as to deny a free passage to the water, the sum of a thousand talents, or 75,000 pounds, was allowed to the censors who undertook to cleanse them. We further learn from history, that the cleansing of them a second time was one of the greatest works of the emperor Augustus. They are still in being, and visible at some casual opening; but Rome, however rich, is not sufficiently wealthy either to put them into repair, or to keep them in it. Dr. Ferguson, in his history of the Roman republic, says, that it is extremely unlikely they should have been built by a prince, whose dominions did not extend above eighteen miles from Rome in any direction. He thinks it is more natural to suppose that they were built by a people more ancient than the Romans, so very ancient as to be beyond the reach of history, and who happened to have their metropolis upon the very same spot where Rome was afterwards founded: and, in order to render this opinion the more probable, he adds, that we have something of a similar nature now under our eye; for that the wild Arabs, without knowing what is beneath them, frequently build their huts upon the very ground where formerly stood the famous city of Palmyra.

IN order to render the people more religious, or to speak with greater propriety, more superstitious, and consequently, as he thought, more submissive, he fell upon the following contrivance; for it deserves no other name. He one day desired Attius Nævius, the most celebrated augur of his time, to consult the auspices, whether what he was revolving in his mind was possible. Nævius did so, and returned for answer, that it certainly was. "Then," replied Tarquin, "I was thinking whether you could cut this whetstone with a razor: there they are; go and perform what your auspices declare to be possible." Upon which, we are told, Nævius took the whetstone, and immediately cut it through with the razor. Tarquin was filled, or pretended to be filled, with the highest admiration at this wonderful circumstance; and, in order to preserve the memory of it, he caused a statue of brass, with the head veiled, to be erected to Nævius, upon the very spot where the miracle was performed. This had a surprising effect in increasing the veneration that was paid to the augurs, without

without whose advice nothing for the future of any consequence was undertaken at Rome.

TARQUIN had now attained to the eightieth year of his age, and thirty-eighth of his reign, when he was suddenly cut off by two assassins; and his murder seems to have been owing to the following circumstance. At the taking of Corniculum, a city of Latium, which Tarquin reduced, Ocrisia, spouse to the prince of that place, was made prisoner among others. Tarquin delivered her to his wife, Tanaquil, who not only restored her to her liberty, but gave her an apartment in the palace, where she was soon after brought to bed of a son. This son was called Tullius after his father, who was killed at the siege of Corniculum, and Servius, in memory of his mother's bondage; for all prisoners of war were, in that age, slaves. Ancient facts of a singular nature are generally attended with miracles, and the frequency of these is a sufficient reason why we should give credit to none of them. It is related of this child, that while he was yet an infant, and was one day sleeping in the cradle, a flame of fire was seen to encircle his head without doing him any hurt. Tanaquil, whose prediction with regard to her husband's obtaining the crown had been so fully verified, now took upon her to interpret this prodigy. She said it was a certain sign, that Servius would one day be the support and ornament of the royal family. She therefore advised her husband to give him an education suitable to the high expectations they had reason to entertain of him. He did so, and the rapid progress which Servius made in every noble and manly accomplishment corresponded to the pains that were bestowed upon him. When Tarquin began to advance in years, he devolved upon Tullius the whole care of the government; he even gave him his daughter in marriage, and was paving the way for making him his successor. This enraged the two sons of Ancus Martius, who were still alive. They thought it very hard, that, after having been excluded from the throne in favour of Tarquin himself, they should now be excluded from it a second time in favour of his son-in-law, who was sprung from a bond woman. They therefore determined to make away both with Tarquin and Servius, and to begin with the former as the most powerful of the two, and the most capable of defeating their views upon the throne by perhaps choosing another son-in-law, and making him his successor. The better to execute their bloody purpose, they disguised two of their attendants in the habit of peasants. These coming near the palace-gate with hatchets on their shoulders, pretended to quarrel, and not being able to settle the matter between them-



themselves, they demanded to be carried into the royal presence, in order to obtain justice. Kings were then very easy of access, and decided most causes, and even petty disputes, in person. When brought before the king, they still continued, agreeable to their assumed character, to bawl and make a noise, and it was with much difficulty they were prevailed on to speak by turns. One of them at last began to explain the cause of his complaint; and while the king was attentively listening to him, the other struck his hatchet into his head, and leaving it in the wound, they both endeavoured to fly. They were seized, however, and immediately put to death. The king's attendants had just time to remove him into another apartment before he expired.

TANAQUIL, who was no less remarkable for her political address than for her skill in augury, resolved that the conspirators should not profit by their barbarous deed. She still determined to secure the crown for Servius. With this view, she caused the gates of the palace to be shut, so as to prevent any one from either going out or coming in until she had got every thing ready for her purpose. Then looking out at one of the windows, she told the crowd below, "that the king had indeed been stunned by the violence of the blow he had received, but the wound was not mortal; he had now recovered his senses, was in a fair way of recovery, and she hoped would be able in a few days to appear again in public. In the mean time, she added, it was her pleasure, that the people should obey Servius, who would administer justice, and discharge all the other duties of royalty." Upon this Servius, as had been previously concerted, issued from the palace in the robes of state, and attended by the lictors, and seating himself on the throne, decided some causes immediately, and upon others pretended he would consult the king. At length, having secured a sufficient party in the senate, if not openly to support, at least tacitly to connive at, his usurpation, he boldly published an account both of the king's death and his own appointment to the government, or, as he called it, to the regency of the kingdom, as guardian to the two grandsons of Tarquin; for that prince left two grandsons behind him, viz. Lucius Tarquinius, and Aruns Tarquinius, though some say they were his sons.

## C H A P. VII.

SERVIUS TULLIUS, *the Sixth King of Rome.*

[ANN. ROM. 176.]

**A**S Servius had taken possession of the throne merely by the authority, or rather, indeed, by the permission of the senate, and without consulting the sentiments of the people, in whom, however, the sole right of election lay, he plainly saw, that he could never expect to enjoy it in tranquillity, unless he could fall upon some method of reconciling these last to his interest. In order, if possible, to do this, he paid the debts of such of them as were most involved in difficulties; upon others he bestowed the lands that had been lately conquered from the enemy, and which the rich, as usual, had contrived to get into their hands; and having thus, as he thought, effectually secured the good-will of the people, he called them together, and represented to them the imminent danger to which he as well as his wards, the grandsons of the late king, were exposed from the machinations of some of the senators, who having formed, as he alledged, a design upon the crown, were going to sacrifice both them and him to the gratification of their ambition. He therefore intended, he said, to deliver up the two princes into the hands of the Roman people, who alone were capable of affording them protection; and as to himself, he declared, he was ready to resign all pretensions to the throne, if they thought it would be conducive to the public interest. The people, upon hearing this, immediately cried out, that he should be their king; and an assembly by curiæ being accordingly convened, they elected him into that high office with as much unanimity as had ever appeared in the election of any former sovereign.

THIS decree of the people, however, was not ratified by the senate, so that Servius's title to the crown still wanted the sanction of one branch of the legislature. It was probably in order to procure this, by flattering the pride of the senators, that he now introduced a very material change in the form of the Roman government. It is proper to observe, that an assembly of the people comprehended, not only the plebeians, or people strictly so called, but likewise the knights and senators, that is, the whole body of Roman citizens. In these assemblies, which were called assemblies by curiæ, in allusion to the thirty curiæ or wards into which the city was divided,

every



every individual had a right to vote ; and as the votes were counted by tale, or by the head, the vote of the poorest citizen was of as much importance as that of the richest. The consequence was, that as the poor were at Rome (as indeed they must be in every society) far more numerous than the rich, they easily carried it in every question that came before the assembly.

In order to remedy this defect in the Roman constitution, as Servius thought, or at least affected to think it, he now divided the people into six different classes, according to their property. These classes he again subdivided into so many centuries, by a century probably meaning not the precise number of a hundred men, but an indefinite number, in proportion to their wealth ; so that a small number of very rich men were as capable of forming a century, as a large number of poorer ones. Into the first class none were admitted, whose fortunes did not amount to 100,000 asses, that is about 322l. 18s. 4d. a sum which, however inconsiderable at present, was by no means a contemptible estate in those simple and early times, when money was so scarce. This class was made to consist of ninety-eight centuries. The next four classes were likewise divided into centuries, according to their property, and made in all ninety-four centuries. The sixth class was composed of the poor, and though the most numerous, it formed only one century. Its members were called *Proletarii*, because they were of no farther service to the public than in rearing children for the state ; they were likewise called *Exempti*, because they were excused from paying taxes and from going to war. The whole number of centuries amounted to one hundred and ninety-three, of which ninety-eight, the number contained in the first class, formed more than a majority. Servius's view in making this division of the people, was to transfer the legislative power from the hands of the plebeians, where it had hitherto been lodged, into those of the patricians, where he imagined it might be more safely placed. For, from this time forward, he ordained, that, in all public deliberations, the votes should be counted, not singly or by the head, as formerly, but collectively or by centuries, that is, that each century should have but one vote ; and as the first class contained more centuries than all the others put together, if they were unanimous, the matter was decided ; there was no necessity for proceeding any farther : but if any of them chanced to differ from the others, the second class was called upon to vote, and a few centuries from that body very easily made up the deficiency. It rarely happened, that there was any occasion for having recourse to the

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third,

third, fourth, or fifth class, and still less to the sixth, so that though the common people still retained their right of voting they had no more influence in the state than if they had had no such right at all.

In order, however, to console them for this loss of power Servius made another regulation; for the people had previously vested him with authority to settle every thing in whatever way he pleased. At the original formation of the Roman government, every man was obliged to contribute an equal sum to the public expences; and as the fortune of all men were then nearly upon a par, this was looked upon as a very equitable law. But as time, and a variety of other circumstances, had produced a great difference between the fortunes of different men, it was now thought hard, that a poor man should be obliged to contribute as much to the exigencies of the state as one that was rich. Servius, therefore ordered, that as the votes of the citizens were to be collected by centuries, the taxes should be imposed in the same manner, that is, that every century should pay an equal sum into the public treasury; and as the number of persons contained in one of the centuries of the higher classes was but a mere handful in comparison of that contained in one of the lower, the weight of the taxes fell upon each in an inverse proportion: in other words, the taxes upon the former were greatly increased, and those upon the latter were in the same degree lessened; and as the people are always pleased with any expedient for saving their money, they readily put up with the loss of their power in consideration of the pecuniary indulgence shewn them. Servius has been highly praised for the first of these regulations, by which he transferred the whole sovereign power from the plebeians to the patricians; as if the establishing a pure aristocracy, which he seems to have done, were conferring a benefit upon any nation, and as if that kind of government were really the best, which the experience of all ages has shewn to be the worst. But it cannot be supposed, that the science of politics was so well understood in those early times as it is at present.

As the fortunes of men are subject to perpetual changes, and many of those who now occupied a lower class, might in time come to have an estate that entitled them to a higher, and, on the other hand, as many who were now enrolled in a higher class, might, by extravagance or otherwise, have their fortunes so impaired as to be qualified only for a lower, Servius instituted the Census, by which all the citizens were obliged to appear in the Campus Martius, each in his proper class, and in complete armour, to give an account of their family and fortune



fortune, and, if necessary, to be transferred into that class which was suited to their present circumstances. This ceremony was preceded by a kind of expiatory sacrifice, called *lustrum*, that is, lustration or purification; and as it was performed every five years, the word *lustrum* came at length to signify the space of five years indifferently, without any particular allusion to this solemnity. At the time of holding the first *lustrum*, the whole number of Roman citizens amounted to eighty-four thousand.

SERVIVS was engaged in very few wars, but those he undertook, proved all of them successful; he gained three victories over the *Hetrurians*. It was he that took in the *Viminal*, *Quirinal*, and *Esquiline* hills, and surrounded all the *seven* with a wall. He was the first king of Rome that coined money, impressing upon it the image of a sheep, in Latin *Pecus*, whence it was called *Pecunia*. Before that, the people used it only in a rude and shapeless mass, and paid it away by weight. It commonly consisted of lead, brass, or copper. It was he likewise that introduced the custom of making slaves free, and admitting them into the number of Roman citizens, by which he added greatly to the strength of the state.

TOWARDS the latter end of his reign, Servius is said to have entertained some thoughts of abdicating the throne, and forming the government into a pure republic; but this generous purpose he was prevented from executing by his premature and unexpected death; for such it may be truly called, notwithstanding his great age. He had two daughters by his queen *Tarquinia*, daughter of *Tarquinius Priscus*. When they grew up, he determined to give them in marriage to their two cousin-germans, grandsons of the same prince, and afterwards his own wards. But as he knew, that the women were of opposite dispositions, as well as their intended husbands, he resolved to cross their tempers, by giving each to him of a different character from her own; her that was meek and gentle, to him that was hot and impetuous; her that was proud and haughty, to him that was quiet and peaceable; hoping by this means that each would correct the failings of the other, and that he himself should avoid the danger to be apprehended from the union of the two furious tempers together.

THE event, however, disappointed his expectations. The elder brother (named *Lucius*) and the younger sister (called *Tullia*) who answered the above description, soon grew tired of their respective consorts, and resolved to make away with them, in order to furnish an opening for a marriage between themselves. They did so, and were soon after joined

in the bands of wedlock. Seeing now no other obstacle to the gratification of their wishes than the life of Servius, they were even so unnatural as to form a design against that. They began first by raising factions against him; and as Servius, by the innovations he had introduced into the government, had drawn upon himself the hatred of a great number of persons, Lucius found the less difficulty in forming a strong party in his own favour. When all things were ready for the execution of his scheme, he suddenly entered the senate-house, clad in the robes of royalty, and placing himself on the throne, he began to harangue the senators upon the obscurity of Servius's birth, and the illegality of his title. While he was yet speaking, Servius entered, attended by a few followers, and seeing his throne thus rudely seized upon, he cried out with a loud voice, "What, Tarquin, dare you, while I am alive, presume to assemble the senate, and sit on my throne," at the same time endeavouring to push him from his seat. But Tarquin, being young and vigorous, took the old king by the waist, and carrying him out of the assembly, threw him into the street; and while Servius, all bruised and battered, was attempting to return to his palace, he was suddenly overtaken and murdered by some assassins, whom Tarquin had sent after him.

It is said, that this murder was committed with the consent, and even at the instigation of Tullia. Certain it is, that upon her hearing what had passed in the senate-house, she immediately drove thither, and was the first that saluted her husband as king; and when upon her return home, her coachman came to the spot where her father's body lay, all covered with blood and wounds, and being struck with horror at the shocking sight, was endeavouring to turn the horses out of the way, so as to avoid the body, Tullia fell into a furious passion, and commanded him to drive directly over it, crying out at the same time, that the road which led to the throne could never be too short. The street, where this happened, was afterwards called *Vicus Sceleratus*, or the accursed street; and well it might, as history perhaps does not furnish another instance of a daughter's being so lost to all the sentiments of humanity, as to besprinkle herself with her own father's blood. Such was the end of Servius Tullius, after a reign of forty-four years, during which he had conducted himself with such prudence, equity, and moderation, as would have rendered it difficult for any prince to rival his character, much more for a monster of tyranny and cruelty, as his son-in-law and successor, Tarquin.



## C H A P. VIII.

TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS, *the Seventh and Last King of Rome.*

[ANN. ROM. 220.]

IT could hardly be expected, that a prince who had made his way to the throne through such a scene of barbarity and bloodshed, should rule the people with a gentle hand. On the contrary, there was every reason to fear, that he would rule them with a rod of iron, and in fact he did so. He first seized upon the throne as his own hereditary and unalienable right, without regarding the sentiments either of the senate or the people. He refused the rites of burial to his father-in-law, upon pretence, that he was an usurper. He put to death all such of the Romans, as he suspected to disapprove of his conduct; and dreading the natural consequences of his tyranny, he increased the guard round his own person. To prevent the people from plotting against him, he took care to keep them constantly employed either in wars abroad or in public works at home. With this view he attacked the Sabines, who had refused to acknowledge his authority, and he easily compelled them to submit to his power. He next turned his arms against the Volsci, took Sueſſa Pometia, one of their towns, and laid siege to Gabii, another considerable city belonging to the same people. This place he was the more eager to reduce, as it contained a great number of Roman citizens who had taken refuge there, in order to avoid the cruelty of the tyrant. The city, however, made so vigorous a defence, that Tarquin had no hopes of taking it by force. He, therefore, had recourse to the following stratagem. He caused his son, Sextus, to counterfeit desertion, on pretence of having been ill-used by his father, and to seek for an asylum among the inhabitants of Gabii. There he so insinuated himself into the good graces of the people, that in a little time they made him governor of the town, and soon after general of their army. Having thus got the whole power into his hands, he sent to his father for farther instruction. Tarquin thinking it dangerous to communicate his sentiments either by word of mouth or by letter, contented himself merely with taking the messenger into the garden, where having cut off the heads of all the tallest poppies, he sent him back to his son without any other answer. Sextus understood the meaning of the ænigma, and having

soon put to death the principal inhabitants, he delivered the town into the hands of his father.

As superstitious people are generally the most submissive, Tarquin fell upon the following device to increase the natural credulity of the Romans. A strange woman, as he pretended, came to him one day, and offered to sell him nine books for a certain sum. Tarquin thinking the price too high, rejected the offer. She then went away, and after burning three of the books, she came back, and offered him the remaining six for the same price she had asked for the whole. Tarquin now looked upon her as an impostor or a mad-woman, and he therefore dismissed her with contempt and disdain. She accordingly departed, and burnt three more of the volumes, and then returning with the remaining three, she offered them to Tarquin for the same sum she had originally demanded. The king, struck with the singularity of her behaviour, began to suspect that there was more in the matter than he had at first imagined. He therefore consulted the augurs on the subject, and it now appearing that she was one of the celebrated Sibyls, whose prophecies were never known to fail, they greatly blamed him for not buying the nine volumes, and advised him by all means to purchase the three that were left at whatever price he could get them. He did so; and the woman, it is added, after delivering the books to him, and exhorting him to keep them with extraordinary care, immediately vanished from his sight.

THIS was no doubt a trick invented by Tarquin, in order to blind the eyes of the people, and enable him to hold out as the will of heaven and the decrees of fate whatever he thought most conducive to his own interest. The books, however, were put into a stone-chest, and deposited in a vault in the capitol, which Tarquin now undertook to complete; for it had only been begun by his grandfather. The keeping of them was intrusted to the care of a certain number of persons chosen from the first families in Rome. The number of these was at first two, afterwards ten, and last of all fifteen, and hence they were called *Quindecemviri*.

THE building of the capitol was likewise attended with an extraordinary incident; for in that ignorant and credulous age almost every remarkable event was distinguished by a prodigy. In digging for the foundation, the workmen discovered the body of a man, named *Tolus*, which, though it had lain in the earth many years, yet upon being exposed to the air, began to bleed, as if it had been but newly cut off. This gave the building the name of capitol, as if it were *Caput Toli*, the head of *Tolus*; and from this particular the  
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figures inferred, that Rome should become the capital of Italy. This magnificent structure was dedicated to Jupiter, but contained under the same roof two temples more, one dedicated to Juno, the other to Minerva: it was two hundred feet long, two hundred high, and almost as many broad; and, on the whole, it seemed better suited to the lofty spirit and aspiring views of the Roman people, than to their present narrow and circumscribed circumstances.

MEAN while Tarquin carried every thing before him with so high a hand, that he seemed to be in a fair way of establishing himself in the possession of his ill-got power, and of transmitting it to his posterity, when the violence, committed by his eldest son Sextus upon the person of Lucretia, threw him suddenly from the throne, and restored the people to the enjoyment of their long-lost rights. He had lately declared war against the Rutuli, in order, as he said, to revenge some injuries which that people had done him, but in reality with a view of replenishing his coffers, which were now greatly exhausted by the building of the capitol and other expensive works.

WHILE he was engaged in the siege of Ardea, the capital of the Rutuli, his son Sextus, Collatinus the husband of Lucretia, and some other officers, happened one evening to be regaling themselves in a tent; and the discourse turning upon the beauty and virtue of their wives, every one, as might be expected, gave the preference to his own. Collatinus proposed putting the matter to an immediate trial by riding instantly to Rome (the distance was not more than twenty miles) and taking the ladies by surprize; and from the manner in which they should find them employed, they would be enabled, he said, to judge which of them really excelled the rest. Being heated with wine, they approved of the proposal; and accordingly taking horse, they rode straight-way to Rome, although the night was pretty far advanced. There they found Lucretia, not like the other women passing the time in mirth and jollity and diversions, but spinning in the midst of her maids in the inner part of the house. The victory, therefore, was adjudged to her; and after being politely entertained by her, they all returned to the camp.

LUCRETIA's virtue, which inspired the other guests with respect and veneration, excited in the breast of young Tarquin a very different passion, which he was determined, at all events, to gratify. With this view he came back to visit her a few days after, and met with the same civil reception as before. As she had no suspicion of his villainous design, she even sat with him at supper, and ordered a bed to be got

ready for him. When all the family were asleep, he contrived to steal into her chamber, and having a drawn sword in his right hand, and laying his left rudely on her bosom, "Silence, said he, Lucretia; if you utter a word, you die." He then acquainted her with the violence of his passion, and begged she would allow him to gratify it. But she, though thus suddenly frightened from her sleep, and though she saw instant death before her eyes, yet rejected his suit with disdain. From entreaties, therefore, he had recourse to threats. He told her, that if she refused to comply, he would forthwith kill her, lay his own slave dead by her side, and then spread a report, that he had found and killed them both in the act of adultery. The dread of infamy extorted that which the fear of death could not obtain; she consented; and Tarquin next morning returned to the camp, exulting in his triumph over female chastity.

MEAN while Lucretia was overwhelmed with grief, and resolving not to outlive the indelible stain fixed upon her character, she sent messengers to her husband Collatinus, and her father Lucretius, desiring their immediate attendance, as a dreadful misfortune had befallen the family. They immediately set out, accompanied by Valerius, a kinsman of her father, and Junius Brutus, a reputed idiot, whose father Tarquin had murdered, and who had accidentally met the messengers by the way. Upon their entering the room, Lucretia burst into tears; and when her husband asked her if all was well; "far from it," said she; "for how can it be well with a woman after the loss of her honour? Yes, Collatinus, thy bed has been defiled by a stranger; but my body only is polluted; my mind is innocent, as my death shall testify. Promise me only, that you will not suffer the adulterer to go unpunished. It is Sextus Tarquinius, who last night, under the pretended veil of friendship, offered me violence, and reaped a joy fatal to me, but, if you are men, still more fatal to him." They all promised to avenge her cause; and at the same time endeavoured to comfort her by observing that the mind only is capable of sinning, not the body; and that where the will is wanting, there cannot possibly be any guilt. "What Sextus deserves," replies Lucretia, "I leave you to judge; but for me, though I declare myself innocent of the crime, I exempt not myself, therefore, from the punishment. No immodest woman hereafter shall plead Lucretia's example for outliving the loss of her honour." So saying, she drew a dagger from under her robe, and instantly plunged it in her bosom. At this tragical deed the whole company were struck with pity, sorrow, and



and indignation. Collatinus and Lucretius gave a vent to their grief in tears. But Brutus, without spending time in useless lamentations, drew out the dagger all bloody from Lucretia's wound, and holding it up towards heaven, exclaimed, "I swear by this blood, so pure and chaste ere it was polluted by Tarquin, and I call you, O ye gods, to witness, that I will pursue with fire and sword the tyrant, his wife, and all his guilty race; nor will I ever suffer any king for the future to sway the sceptre in Rome." He then presented the dagger to the rest of the company, and exacted from them the same oath which he himself had taken.

JUNIUS Brutus was the son of Marcus Junius, a noble Roman, and of Tarquinia, daughter of Tarquinius Priscus. He had received in his youth an excellent education, and possessed from nature a large fund of good sense and an inflexible attachment to virtue. But finding that Tarquin, partly from avarice, and partly from jealousy, had privately murdered his father and his elder brother, he put on the appearance of a fool, in order to avoid the same danger, and thence obtained the surname of Brutus. Tarquin thinking his folly real, despised him too much to take any further notice of him, except that he kept him in his house as an idiot, merely for the purpose of diverting his children.

THE first specimen he gave of his sagacity was in a journey he made with the young princes to Delphi in order to consult the oracle there. They were highly pleased with his company; but could not help laughing at his supposed stupidity in making an offering of his staff to Apollo. This present, however, was much more valuable than they imagined, for the staff was no other than an elder-stick, containing within it a rod of gold, a very good emblem of Brutus's character. The young princes having executed their commission, were next seized with the curiosity of knowing which of them was destined to reign in Rome. "He," answered the oracle, "that shall first kiss his mother." The Tarquins resolved to conceal this circumstance from their brother Sextus, who remained behind at Rome, and upon their return home, to determine by lot which of them should be entitled first to kiss his mother. It appeared, however, in the sequel, that Brutus understood the meaning of the oracle much better than the princes; for, upon his arrival in Italy, he pretended to fall down, and kissed the earth, the common mother of all. From that time he began to conceive hopes of being one day the deliverer of his country, and of driving the Tarquins entirely from Rome.

THINKING the present a favourable opportunity, he re-

solved to embrace it; and calling together an assembly of the people, he related to them all that had passed; the atrocious crime committed by Sextus, the melancholy fate and tragical end of the chaste Lucretia, and the inconsolable grief of a father, less affected with his daughter's death than with the barbarous deed to which it was owing. He then put them in mind of the numerous crimes of Tarquin himself; his avarice, pride, tyranny, his cruel treatment of the citizens, in employing them in his buildings like slaves or beasts of burden; the horrid murder of king Servius, and Tullia's shocking impiety in driving her chariot over the body of her father. This speech being pronounced over the bleeding body of Lucretia, inflamed the minds of the people to such a pitch, that they immediately passed a decree, condemning Tarquin and his family to perpetual banishment, and making it capital for any one ever to attempt their return.

MEAN while Tarquin being informed of what was passing at Rome, directly set out for the city; but upon his approach to it, he found the gates shut against him; and before he could return to the camp, he heard that Brutus had been there before him, and had persuaded the soldiers to desert the tyrant, and to join their fellow-citizens in completing the long wished-for deliverance of their country. Thus being abandoned by all the world, and expelled not only Rome, but even the Roman territories, after a reign of twenty-five years, he went to take refuge with his family at Cære, a small town of the Etrurians, and Brutus was proclaimed the restorer of public liberty. With Tarquin ended the regal state of Rome, after a continuance of two hundred and forty-five years, during which, though it had not extended its dominions above thirty or forty miles on any side, yet had it acquired a firmness and stability that qualified it for the mighty projects it afterwards undertook, and which it finally accomplished.

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## C H A P. IX.

### THE COMMONWEALTH.

*From the BANISHMENT of TARQUIN to the APPOINTMENT of the DECENVIRI.*

[ANN. ROM. 245.]

**T**HOUGH the Romans had expelled kings, they were too wise to think that government could be supported without some supreme magistrates; and they therefore transferred



ferred the whole royal power into the hands of two persons, who were called Consuls, and who being chosen only for one year, and serving as a check upon one another, were likely to use their authority with more moderation. Brutus and Collatinus were the first consuls; and they were no doubt raised to that high dignity on account of the share they both of them had in the late revolution, and the strong inclination they must consequently feel to oppose the restoration of kingly government.

THE new republic, however, had been hardly established, when it was like to have been overturned by a dangerous conspiracy. Tarquin had sent some ambassadors to Rome, under pretence of demanding the restitution of his property, but in reality with a view of forming a party in his favour; and in this unhappily they were but too successful. They contrived to engage in his interest some of the principal young men of Rome, and, among others, the two sons of Brutus himself. Their intention was to murder the consuls, and restore the Tarquins. Fortunately the plot was discovered in time, by means of a slave who had concealed himself in the room where the conspirators met. They were immediately apprehended. Brutus passed sentence of death upon his two sons, and with his own eyes saw it put in execution; the tenderness of the father, however, evidently appearing through the severity of the judge.

THIS action of Brutus has been praised by some, and censured by others, according to their different dispositions. But surely a son, who, in violation of the laws, and in order to overturn the constitution of his country, forms a design upon the life of his father, can have no right to complain if that father doom him to death in execution of the laws, and the better to preserve the liberty of the public. What indeed renders the fate of these young men the more lamentable is, that they were not above fourteen years old; an age, at which, in many countries, persons are hardly supposed to be capable of committing any crime at all, and far less that of high treason. But some striking example was probably wanting to strengthen and confirm the new constitution, and to inspire the people with the utmost horror at entering into any conspiracies against it; and this Brutus certainly gave them.

THE punishment of the other conspirators was left to Collatinus, who being of a more mild and gentle temper than his colleague, seemed inclined to forgive them, the rather as many of them were his own near relations; but this being disagreeable to the people, and still more to Brutus, Collati-

nus was obliged to resign his office, which was bestowed upon Valerius, afterwards called Valerius Poplicola. The culprits, in consequence, were condemned and put to death.

TARQUIN, thus deprived of all hopes of recovering his throne by the assistance of his old subjects, was forced to have recourse to foreign aid. He applied to the Veientes; and these readily espoused his cause, and raised an army to support him. At the head of this army Tarquin advanced towards Rome. The consuls came out to meet him. Brutus commanded the horse; Valerius, the infantry. Aruns, son of Tarquin, commanded the horse of the enemy. Discovering Brutus at a distance; "There," said he, "is the man that has expelled us our country; behold him insolently adorned with the ensigns of our family! Assist me, O ye gods, avengers of kings." So saying, he rode out from the ranks, and dared Brutus to single combat. Brutus was not backward in accepting the challenge. Putting spurs, therefore, to their horses, they flew upon each other with such ungovernable fury, that regardless entirely of their own safety, and eager only to assail their adversary, they ran one another through the body, and instantly fell dead to the ground. The foot then engaged, and a bloody battle was fought. The loss on both sides was nearly equal. A voice, it is said, was heard out of the wood Arfia, declaring the Romans conquerors, and to have lost one man less than the enemy. Certain it is they remained masters of the field. A triumph was decreed to Valerius. He was the first consul that made a triumphant entry into Rome, in a chariot with four horses; a custom, that was ever after observed.

THE body of Brutus was carried off the field by the most eminent knights, with all the marks of honour and tokens of the sincerest grief. When they came near the city, they were met a good way without the gates by the senate, with the parade of a triumph, with which they intended to grace the funeral of that great man. Valerius, clothed in mourning, exposed in the forum Brutus's body upon a bed as richly adorned as the simplicity of those early times would permit, and before all the people made an oration in praise of his colleague. This was the first instance of a funeral oration among the Romans. They did not borrow it from the Greeks; it was of their own invention: nor did they confine it, like the states of Greece, to men only of military talents; they extended it to all men, eminent in their way, whether in a civil or military capacity.

THE Roman ladies were no less eager to honour the memory of Brutus. They went into mourning for him, and



wore it a whole year ; and this they did chiefly in return for the service he had done the sex in revenging so signally the outrage offered to conjugal chastity in the person of Lucretia.

VALERIUS shone not more in the field than the cabinet. He enacted several popular laws, which procured him the surname of Poplicola. By one of these laws he allowed an appeal from the consuls to the people ; by another he made it death for any man to accept of any magistracy without the consent of the people ; and by a third he gave permission to every one to kill any person that aspired at the regal power, and declared the author of the murder acquitted, if he could prove the fact. The last law established by him, was for the creation of two quæstors or public treasurers, who were to take care of the public money, and were ordered to keep it in the temple of Saturn. These laws, it is evident, made a great change in the form of the Roman government. By them the consular power, which had hitherto been equal to the regal, was considerably abridged, and the people's privileges proportionably increased. It is here we see the first dawnings of a real democracy in Rome.

THE people now proceeded to the choice of a new consul in the room of Brutus ; and they pitched upon Lucretius, the father of Lucretia ; but he dying soon after his election, was succeeded by Marcus Horatius. About this time the capitol was finished, and dedicated in the most solemn manner.

TARQUIN, though defeated in his last attempt, was by no means discouraged. He repaired to the court of Porfenna, one of the kings of Etruria, and he prevailed upon that prince to espouse his quarrel. Accordingly, Porfenna, who was as remarkable for his courage as his conduct, marched directly to Rome with a numerous army. At the very first assault, he took the gate Janiculum, and was upon the point of forcing his way over the bridge Sublicius, which would have made him entire master of the city. This, however, he was prevented from doing by the heroic bravery of Horatius Cocles, who, placing himself at the entrance of the bridge, and assisted only by two others, gallantly opposed the whole force of the enemy, repeatedly repelled their most furious assaults, and even seemed to set them at defiance. At length, hearing that the bridge behind him was broken down, and the communication with the city effectually cut off, he instantly plunged with his arms into the Tyber, and swam back to his friends, who received him in triumph.

PORSENNA, finding it impossible to take the place by storm, converted the siege into a blockade, resolving, if he could, to reduce it by famine. And this indeed he had well nigh effected, when

when it was again saved by an act of heroism, still more extraordinary than that of Cocles. Mutius, a youth of undaunted courage, enraged to see Rome in a worse condition under the consuls than she had been under kings, determined, if possible, to rid his country of an enemy, that had reduced her to such a low and disgraceful condition. With this view, disguising himself in the habit of a Tuscan, he entered the enemy's camp, and passing the guards unsuspected, advanced to the tent of Porfenna, who, accompanied by a single secretary, dressed almost like himself, was employed in paying his troops. Mutius not knowing which was the king, and which the secretary, and seeing the men address themselves more frequently to the latter than the former, mistook the one for the other, and stabbed the secretary to the heart. He was instantly seized in spite of all his resistance, and brought into the royal presence. Upon Porfenna's asking him who he was, and what were his motives for committing so atrocious an action; "I am," said he, "a Roman citizen; my name is Mutius: I intended to kill the enemy of my country; and am as ready to suffer death as I was to inflict it on thee. It equally becomes the character of a Roman to act with courage, and to suffer with constancy. Nor stand I alone in the design formed against thee. Many others after me aspire to the same honour. Prepare thyself therefore for continual alarms; expect every moment to run the risk of thy life, to find always at the door of thy tent a secret enemy watching an opportunity to attack thee. This is the war which the Roman youth have denounced against thee. Thou needest not fear a general engagement; thou alone art the object of their vengeance, and thou wilt have to do at a time but with one enemy." The king, enraged at these menaces, the real meaning of which he did not understand, commanded Mutius to be surrounded with flames, in order to force him to a fuller confession. But Mutius, without discovering the least concern; "See," said he, putting his hand into a fire that was burning before him on an altar, "see how despicable their body is to men, who seek only after true glory." He then continued to let his hand burn on, as if he had been totally destitute of feeling. Porfenna, however, could not endure so shocking a sight; but leaping from his tribunal, "Be gone," said he, "young man, more an enemy to thyself than to me. I would exhort thee not to degenerate from such virtue, hadst thou exerted it in behalf of my country. As it is, I give thee free leave to depart without any fear of the punishment, which, by the laws of war, I might justly inflict on thee." Then Mutius, as if in return for so great

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a favour, told him, that three hundred of the Roman youth had conspired his destruction; that he was the first on whom the lot had fallen, and the rest would succeed each in his turn. It was from this action, that Mutius acquired the surname of *Scævola*, or left-handed, because, after burning his right-hand, he was obliged to make use of the left.

To prevent the danger that threatened his person, Porfenna concluded a peace with the Romans upon very moderate terms. These were, that they should restore certain lands they had lately taken from him; and till that article was performed, that they should put into his hands, by way of hostages, twenty persons, ten young men, and as many virgins, of the best families in Rome. But even in this instance, as if the gentler sex were determined to dispute the prize of valour with their countrymen, Clælia, one of the hostages, escaping from her guards, and pointing out the way to the rest of her female companions, swam over the Tyber on horseback, and returned safely to Rome. The consuls, however, fearing lest they should be suspected of having countenanced and encouraged the escape of the virgins, sent them back to Porfenna, who, struck more with the boldness than the perfidy of the deed, applauded Clælia for her spirit and intrepidity, presented her with a horse richly caparisoned, and not only gave her liberty to return to Rome, but likewise to take with her such of the hostages as she thought proper to chuse. On her part, she, with a modesty becoming her sex and age, pitched only upon such as were under fourteen, alledging that their tender years rendered them least capable of enduring the hardships of slavery. Thus ended the Tuscan war, in which Rome had been exposed to the most imminent danger. Porfenna, indeed, made one effort more (in words at least) in favour of the dethroned monarch; but being told by the Romans, that they would rather open their gates to their most inveterate enemies than to kings, he desisted from all attempts of that kind for the future.

TARQUIN, however, though disappointed in this quarter, still had the address to engage in his favour a great number of the Latin cities. He is even said to have formed a strong party in his interest among the poorer inhabitants of Rome, who, however happy they might be in the recovery of their liberty, still found themselves grievously oppressed by the spirit of usury that prevailed among the great. These indeed lent their money to the poor; but they lent it, at the same time, at such an exorbitant interest, as reduced the borrower to a state of absolute subjection. For it is to be observed, that the Roman laws with regard to debtors and creditors

ditors were extremely severe. They permitted the creditor not only to seize the property of the debtor, but even to seize his person, to whip him, to imprison him, to load him with chains, and employ him as a slave, until the money was paid. Add to this, that the great in general had got their riches by the most unfair and unjustifiable means. Instead of carrying the produce of the conquered lands into the public treasury, where it ought to have been carried, in order to defray the expences of the state, they contrived to get it into their own hands, and thus were enabled to oppress the very persons, by whose valour these lands were obtained.

THE people, therefore, began to suspect, that however advantageous the expulsion of the kings might have been to the great, it was rather a disadvantage to them, as it had only been the means of making them exchange one despot for a number of petty tyrants. Thus they were glad of every thing that tended to distress and perplex their cruel creditors, and the present seemed to them a fair opportunity. When the consuls, therefore, came to levy men in order to oppose the designs of Tarquin, who was now advancing with a large body of Latins, all the poorer citizens at Rome, who formed the great majority of the people, as indeed they must do in every nation, absolutely refused to insist. "How can it be expected, said they, that we should expend our blood in defence of a government, from which we derive no real advantage, and from which the only fruits we reap are whips, slavery, and imprisonment? Let those defend the constitution, who alone enjoy all the benefits arising from it. As for us, we will seek some other country, and some other government, where we may at least enjoy our natural liberty, unawed by haughty nobles, unoppressed by cruel creditors."

In order to soothe the minds of the people, some proposed the abolition of all debts; others a suspension of the rights of creditors till the conclusion of the war. But the first of these schemes was violently opposed by all the rich patricians, and particularly by Appius Claudius, who thereby incurred a large share of popular hatred; and the second did not satisfy the wishes of the plebeians. To put an end, therefore, to this dispute, and enable the government to take some step suited to the present emergency, which would admit of no delay, it was proposed to create a supreme magistrate, vested with absolute and uncontrouled power over all the members of the state, and even over the laws themselves. This sovereign magistrate was stiled Dictator; and the first that was advanced to that high dignity was Titus Lartius, one of the consuls, being named to it by Clælius, the other consul.



## C H A P. X.

*From the CREATION of the First DICTATOR to the  
ELECTION of the TRIBUNES.*

[ANN. ROM. 255.]

THE people seem not to have been aware of the consequence of giving their consent to the creation of a dictator, as they thereby deprived themselves of the power they had formerly possessed of refusing their names to be enrolled in the troops, which was the great check they had upon the senate, and the most effectual means they could possibly devise for obtaining, when they chose, a redress of their grievances. Lartius had no sooner entered upon his office, than he appeared with all the ensigns of ancient royalty, and, seated upon a lofty chair resembling a throne, and attended by twenty-four lictors, instead of twelve, who were armed as usual with their rods and axes, he issued his orders without any danger of seeing them disobeyed; for had any one had the presumption to do so, he would instantly have ordered his head to be struck off, and that too without the least apprehension of being called to an account for such an act of severity: for it is to be remarked, that the dictators were not answerable for any thing they did in the exercise of their office, either at the time, or at any future period. The people, overawed by so formidable a power, readily gave in their names to be enrolled in the troops; and Lartius having by this means assembled a numerous army, struck such a terror into the enemy, that they humbly sued for peace, or at least for a truce, which was immediately granted them. The dictator having thus, without drawing a sword, averted the danger that hung over the republic, laid down his office before the end of six months, the period, to which, by the laws, it was limited.

It is worthy of notice, that the office of dictator was frequently the means of saving the state in the most critical emergencies; and that there never was an instance of any one, possessed of it, having abused his power, till, towards the end of the commonwealth, when it was usurped by Sylla, and afterwards conferred for life upon Julius Cæsar.

UPON the expiration of the truce that had been concluded with the Latins, hostilities were renewed; and Aulus Posthumius, one of the consuls, was created dictator, in order to conduct the war. The Roman army consisted of 2400 foot,  
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and 1000 horse; that of the enemy amounted to 4000 foot, and 3000 horse. The main body of the Latins was commanded by Titus, Tarquin's second son, the left wing by Sextus, his eldest, and the right by Mamilius, his son-in-law. After a bloody battle, which was fought near the lake Regillus, and in which the enemy lost about three-fourths of their number, the Romans gained the victory. Sextus Tarquinius was slain, and Titus dangerously wounded. Old Tarquin himself retired to Cumæ in Campania, where he soon after died at the age of ninety; a prince certainly of considerable parts, but the merit of which was entirely destroyed by his tyrannical disposition.

THE soldiers having acquitted themselves with so much bravery, had reason to expect a remission of their debts, or at least a mitigation of the hardships they suffered from their creditors. Neither of these favours, however, could they possibly obtain. The courts of justice were again opened, and the prosecutions against the debtors went on as usual. This soon excited fresh murmurs; and in order to check them, the senate chose Appius Claudius, a man of austere manners, a strict observer of the laws, and of unshaken intrepidity, for one of the consuls for the year ensuing; but, at the same time, to temper his severity, they gave him for a colleague Servilius, a man of a humane and gentle disposition, and as much beloved by the people as Appius was hated. When the senate, therefore, took into consideration the complaints of the debtors, the two consuls, as might be expected, gave very different opinions. Servilius, pitying the distresses of the poor, proposed a total abolition of the debts, or at least a considerable diminution of the interest. This mild expedient, however, was opposed by Appius, who, with his usual severity, insisted that the laws ought to be observed, and that removing the load from those who owed the money, was only throwing it upon those to whom it was due; that it would be encouraging the idle and extravagant at the expence of the frugal and industrious; and that every compliance with the demands of the populace would only serve still farther to increase them.

THE people, informed of this opposition between the consuls, bestowed upon Servilius the loudest shouts of applause, and loaded Appius with the most bitter imprecations. They began to hold assemblies by night, to communicate their griefs to one another, and to enter into some deep-laid plot for taking vengeance on their cruel creditors, when lo! the sight of one of their companions in distress threw them all at once into a transport of fury. An old plebeian, loaded with chains, threw himself into the midst of the people as into a  
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place of safety. He was covered with rags; his face was pale and wan with famine; his beard, which was long and neglected, and his hair dishevelled, gave him altogether a most ghastly appearance. He was, however, very well known; and some of the company remembered to have been with him in the wars, and to have seen him fight with great bravery. He himself shewed the scars of the wounds he had received in battle: he mentioned the names of the consuls and tribunes under whom he had served; and addressing himself to the multitude around him, he said, that while he bore arms in the war against the Sabines, he had not only been prevented from cultivating his little farm, but that the enemy, in an incursion, after having plundered his house, had burnt it to the ground: that, in this situation, he had been forced, for subsistence, to contract debts, and then obliged to sell his little inheritance to discharge them: but a part still remaining unpaid, his merciless creditor had dragged him to prison, where he was not only loaded with chains, but torn with the whips of the executioner, who was ordered to torment him.

THIS account, together with his wounds, which he shewed them, and which were still bleeding with the stripes he had lately received, inflamed the people with such a spirit of resentment, that they flew to take vengeance not only upon the author of these cruelties, but upon the whole body of creditors. The consuls were unable to appease the tumult. Appius would probably have fallen a sacrifice to popular fury, had he not consulted his safety by flight. Even Servilius was obliged to lay aside the badges of his office; and throwing himself into the midst of the people, he entreated, besought and conjured them to have patience, promising, upon that condition, that he would immediately assemble the senate, and endeavour to obtain a redress of their grievances; and as a proof of his sincerity, he issued a proclamation, importing, that no citizen should be arrested for debt till the senate had made some new regulations.

IN the midst of this popular commotion, word was brought, that an army of Volscians was advancing towards Rome. This was the very thing the people wished for. They knew, that, in case of a war, the senate could not do without them; and they therefore resolved to seize the present opportunity of extorting that by force which they could not procure by more gentle means. Accordingly, when the levies came to be made, they almost unanimously refused to enlist; and some of the debtors, who during the tumult had escaped from prison, holding up their chains, asked with a sneer,

neer, whether it was for the preservation of such ornaments that they were now called upon to risk their lives.

SERVILIUS, however, had the address to persuade them to follow his standard: he led them out against the Volscians, and obtained a complete victory; and in order to reward them for the extraordinary valour they had shewn on the occasion, he bestowed upon them the whole plunder of the enemy's camp; a circumstance which the senate made use of as a pretext for refusing him, on his return, the honour of a triumph.

NOR were they more compliant in enabling him to perform the promise he had made to the people of procuring them satisfaction in the article of debts. Instead of agreeing to a remission of these, or even a mitigation of the laws respecting the manner of recovering them, they still allowed them to be exacted with all the former rigour and severity; and the people, now despairing of obtaining any redress in this the greatest of all their grievances, resolved to quit a city, where they were obliged to undergo all the fatigues and dangers of war, without enjoying any of the blessings and advantages of peace. They therefore retired, under the conduct of one Sicinius Bellutus, to a hill about three miles from Rome, which, on account of the laws that were afterwards passed there, was called *Mons Sacer*, or the sacred mountain.

THE senate, alarmed at this general defection of the people, were greatly at a loss what steps to pursue. Some of the more young and headstrong among them, and particularly Appius, the sworn enemy of the plebeians, recommended violent measures, and the repelling of force by force; but the more aged and experienced part of the body thought that gentler arts were to be used, and that even a victory over such enemies, if it could be obtained, would be little better than a defeat. They accordingly sent them a messenger, inviting them to return and explain their grievances, and promising that, upon that condition, their present revolt should be forgiven. This message, however, was treated with the contempt that might have been expected. They then appointed ten commissioners, at the head of whom was Menenius Agrippa, to go to the people, and enter into a negotiation with them.

MENENIUS, who himself had formerly been a plebeian, well knew the disposition of the people with whom he was to deal. Instead, therefore, of endeavouring to persuade them by a long train of refined arguments, he simply addressed them with the following short, but significant fable. "At a time," said he, "when the various parts of the hu-



man body did not, as at present, co-operate towards the same end, but each had a separate will and a separate language of its own, they began to take offence, that the belly, which lay in the midst of them, did in reality nothing, but only enjoyed the delicacies that were brought to it. They therefore conspired against it, as being in their opinion altogether useless. The hands vowed they would no longer carry meat to the mouth, the mouth that it would not receive it, and the teeth that they would not chew it. But while they thought they were thus only punishing the belly, they found to their cost that they were ruining themselves, and that they should soon be reduced to such a feeble state as to be utterly incapable of discharging their several offices; that the belly therefore was not so useless as they had at first imagined, but that if it was supported by the other members, it was no less active in supporting them; for that it was by the digestion of the food in the belly, and the blood thence communicated to the various parts of the body, that they were all of them enabled to perform their different functions." He compared the present division between the senate and the people to this dissension between the members of the body, and shewed, that the continuance of it would be as fatal in the one case as it had been in the other. He added, that such of the citizens as were insolvent should be entirely discharged from their debts; that those who had been arrested should be set at liberty; and that the senate and people should hereafter unite in making such regulations with regard to debts as should appear most equitable.

THE people, pleased with these concessions, immediately cried out, that Agrippa should lead them back to Rome, and were preparing to follow him, when Lucius Junius, one of their leaders, withheld them, observing, that though they were thankful for the favours which the senate now offered them, they had yet no security against their future resentment; that it was therefore necessary, for their greater security, to have certain magistrates chosen annually from among themselves, whose sole business it should be to take care of their rights, and prevent their being invaded by the senate. The people, though they did not think of this before, yet highly applauded it as soon as they heard it. The commissioners, however, had no power to make such a concession: they therefore sent back to Rome for farther instructions; and the senate, desirous of bringing the treaty to a happy conclusion, which they well knew could not be otherwise effected, at last gave their consent to the creation of these new magistrates, who were denominated *Tribunes of the people*. They were so called either from their being  
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elected by the tribes, or from their being first chosen from among the tribunes or colonels of the army. Their number was at first two, afterwards five, and at last was augmented to ten. Their power was very extensive. They ratified or annulled the decrees of the senate and consuls, and of all other magistrates, except the dictators. When they meant to approve, they subscribed the letter T. when they intended to reject, they subjoined the word *veto*, or *vetamus*, *I forbid it*. Great, however, as was their power, they had few external badges of authority. The only mark of this kind they had was the being preceded by a beadle, who was called *viator*. They were not allowed to be absent a whole day from the city. As they were the defenders and protectors of the people, their houses were to be open both day and night, that so there might be at all times an easy access to them.

THEIR power, however, was confined within the city; and notwithstanding their controul over the senate, they were not at first admitted to a seat in that assembly. They sat at the door of the senate-house; and the decrees of the senate were brought out to them, in order to receive their approval or rejection. Their persons were considered as sacred and inviolable. The people passed an express law for that purpose, by which it was prohibited to lay hands upon the tribunes, or to offer them violence upon any pretence whatever. Whoever infringed this law, was declared to be accursed—*sacer esto*, and his estate was confiscated into the public treasury. It was lawful to kill him without any form of trial. And in order, if possible, to make this law eternal, the people engaged themselves by oath, and under the most dreadful imprecations, as well in their own name as in that of their posterity, never to abolish it. This law was called sacred, as indeed all laws were that were confirmed by an oath, and by imprecations against those who had the impiety to break them; and this was the reason, why the mountain, to which the people had retired, and where the law was passed, was distinguished by the name of the *sacred mountain*. The people having thus obtained all, and indeed a great deal more than they at first wished or expected, had now no longer reason for remaining out of the city; and they therefore suffered themselves to be led back to it by their two tribunes and the deputies of the senate.



## C H A P. XI.

*From the CREATION of the TRIBUNES to the APPOINTMENT of the DECEMVIRI.*

[ANN. ROM. 260.]

BY the expulsion of the kings the government of Rome was transformed from a monarchy into an aristocracy; by the creation of tribunes it was changed from an aristocracy into a democratical constitution. Nor were the tribunes the only new magistrates which the people now obtained; they were likewise allowed to chuse two other officers, who were called *Ædiles*. These derived their name from their principal employment *ab ædibus curandis*, that is, from taking care of the public buildings, aqueducts, &c. They had also the determining of some causes, that had hitherto been cognizable by the consuls only. They were to inform against those persons that occupied more land than the laws permitted them; to check all public immoralities; to remove all nuisances; to provide corn and oil in times of scarcity, and to prevent the dealers in such commodities from being guilty of monopoly or hoarding. The ambition of the people being now fully gratified, they marched with alacrity against the Volsci and Antiates, and reduced Corioli, one of their chief towns; in the taking of which Caius Marcius, a young senator, distinguished himself remarkably; and hence he was honoured with the surname of Coriolanus.

IN a state, however, where property was so unequally divided as it was at Rome, even in that early period, it could not be supposed, that the rich and the poor could long live upon very amicable terms. The late separation of the people had occasioned a neglect of agriculture; this naturally produced a scarcity of provisions; and the patricians were now accused of buying up all the grain that remained, in order to sell it out at an exorbitant price, and thereby re-imburse themselves for the loss they had suffered by the abolition of debts.

THESE murmurs, however, were, in some measure, appeased by the arrival of a large fleet from Sicily laden with corn, part of which had been purchased with the public money, and part sent as a present by Gelon, king of that island. The distribution of this corn raised a fresh misunderstanding between the senate and the people. The more elderly and moderate senators were for giving part of it gratis

to the poorer sort of citizens, and selling the rest at a low price among them. But Coriolanus, whom we have already mentioned, a man of great parts and distinguished bravery, but, at the same time, of a most proud and imperious disposition, and who, on all occasions, avowed himself an inveterate enemy to the interests of the people, loudly exclaimed against this proposal. He said, that now was the time for humbling the pride, and abridging the power of the plebeians; and that therefore the price of the corn should be kept up, until they had agreed to an abolition of the tribunship, and to an entire resignation of all the other favours and concessions that had been granted them upon the sacred mount.

THE people were no sooner informed of this violent council, than they had like to have broke out into an open mutiny, and would instantly have put the author of it to death, could they have laid their hands upon him. The tribunes, however, prevented them from proceeding to such extremities; they only cited Coriolanus to appear before them; but to this summons he paid no regard. They then attempted to seize his person, but were rudely repulsed by the young senators. They therefore called an assembly of the people, in which Coriolanus made his appearance; but instead of offering an apology for what he had said in the senate, he boldly justified every word he had uttered; adding, that he acknowledged no authority but that of the consuls, and appeared in that assembly of mutineers, as he was pleased to call the people, only to reprove them for their insolence.

SICINIUS, one of the tribunes, immediately condemned him to death, and ordered him to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock; but as the patricians seemed resolved to defend him, he desisted, for the present, from the execution of his sentence. He then summoned him to appear before the people, and to stand his trial at the end of twenty-seven days. The reason of putting it off for so long a time was owing to a custom that prevailed among the Romans, of not deciding finally upon any public question till after the return of three market-days, that so the people in the country might be informed of the matter; and the markets were only held every ninth day.

THE senate was now reduced to a very dangerous dilemma. To abandon one of their order to be tried by the people was a thing altogether unprecedented; and yet to refuse their compliance in the present instance might be attended with the most fatal consequences. From this difficulty they were freed by Coriolanus himself, who boldly asked the tribunes of what crime they meant to accuse him. “Of having aspired to  
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the sovereignty," said they. "If to refute that accusation," replied he, "be all that is wanted, I will willingly appear before the people." In order to make sure of the issue of the contest, the tribunes resolved, that the people should vote by tribes, in which every individual had a suffrage, and not by centuries, in which the patricians always carried the question. The tribes accordingly being regularly assembled on the day of trial, Minucius, the consul, ascended the tribunal, and harangued the people in favour of the illustrious citizen, who presented himself before them. He insisted upon his noble birth, his gallant actions, the services he had done the state, and in the name of the whole senate requested, that he might not be treated as a criminal. The tribunes, on the other hand, were equally zealous in carrying on the prosecution, and maintained, that the attempts made by Coriolanus to abolish the office of tribune, and to prevent the price of corn from being lowered, were undoubted proofs of his aiming at tyranny.

THIS imputation was fully refuted by Coriolanus himself, who shewed the wounds he had received in fighting for his country, and mentioned the names of the citizens, whose lives he had saved in battle; and Decius, one of the tribunes, perceiving the impossibility of making good this part of the charge, immediately started another. "If," said he, "we are prevented by the senate from insisting on those speeches which were made amongst that august body, tending to destroy the privileges of the people, yet still we are not without other crimes to alledge against the delinquent. We pass over what he has said; we come now to what he has done; and let him defend himself against the charges we shall bring against him in the best manner he can. We have an ancient law amongst us, that all plunder, taken from the enemy, shall be appropriated to the use of the public, and be brought into the treasury, untouched by the general. But a law, so equitable in itself, and so religiously observed by our ancestors, has been violated by this man, who stands accused before you. In a late incursion into the territories of Antium, though his plunder in slaves, cattle, and provisions, was very great, yet the public were neither the better nor the richer for it; it was divided among his friends and followers; men, whom, probably, he intended to enrich, only to make them more ready tools in executing his ambitious projects. It has ever been the policy of men, who meant to overturn the liberties of their country, to begin by forming a strong body of partizans, who were willing to assist them in all their desperate enterprizes. This, then, is the crime, of which we accuse Coriolanus; let him, if he can, disprove

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the fact; if not, let him suffer the punishment due to those that are guilty of such an enormity." As this was a charge which Coriolanus never imagined would be brought against him, he was altogether unprovided with a reply: his defence, therefore, was very unsatisfactory, and he was accordingly condemned to perpetual exile.

It is remarkable, that the crime, for which Coriolanus now suffered so severe a sentence, had been committed by some of the most illustrious and most popular generals of Rome, and that too not only without drawing upon them so heavy a punishment, but even without exposing them to the slightest degree of censure. It is, therefore, natural to think, that Coriolanus fell a sacrifice, not so much to his having violated the law in the particular instance with which he was charged, as to the general odium under which he laboured on account of his proud, haughty and imperious temper, which led him, on all occasions, to oppose the interests and inclinations of the people, and to extend the power and prerogatives of the senate: an instructive lesson this to all men of an elevated rank, never to treat their inferiors with contempt and disdain, lest they should one day be made to pay dearly for their insolent behaviour. A distinction of ranks is no doubt necessary in society, because perhaps there never was an instance of any nation's having attained to a high degree of civilization without such a distinction; but then it ought, at the same time, to be remembered, that the true end of all government is not the gratification of the pride or ambition of any single person, or of a few individuals, but the promoting the happiness and welfare of the whole body of the people. Those who think otherwise, whatever they may imagine, shew themselves to be still more ignorant even than they are proud.

THE trial of Coriolanus gave a mortal blow to the authority of the senate, which had hitherto possessed the exclusive privilege of trying all the individuals of its own body; but from this time forward the people claimed and exercised the right of trying all the different members of the state, whether senators, patricians, or plebeians, without exception; so that no man, however high or exalted his rank, was secure from the effects of their resentment, if he had happened to incur it. Nor was it merely the condemnation of a senator that gave the patricians so much pain. It was the condemnation of a senator, who, of all those possessed of that high dignity, was the most zealous and active in maintaining the prerogatives of the order; and it was greatly to be feared, that after the downfall of so strenuous an advocate, none would have the



the courage to stand up in defence of their few remaining privileges.

As to Coriolanus himself, instead of wasting his time in womanish lamentations, he retired among the Volsci; and having persuaded that people to declare war against the Romans, and to entrust him with the command of their forces, he advanced at the head of a numerous army to within five miles of Rome, firmly resolved to lay siege to the city, and to take a signal vengeance upon those who had been the cause of his disgrace. The rapidity of his motions deprived the Romans of all power of making a regular defence, and they had therefore no other alternative left than to throw themselves upon the mercy of the enemy. Two successive embassies were accordingly sent to Coriolanus, entreating him to draw off his army from Rome, and promising, upon that condition, that his sentence of banishment should be annulled, and himself restored to all his former dignities; but these proposals he rejected with contempt and indignation. It was therefore resolved to send another embassy, more solemn than either of the former, composed of the pontiffs, the priests, and the augurs. These, clothed in their habits of ceremony, and with a grave and mournful deportment, marched forth from the city, and entered the camp of the conqueror. He treated them with all the respect that was due to their sacred character, but remained as obstinate and inflexible as before.

It was now determined, as a last resource, to employ the good offices of his mother Veturia, and his wife Volumnia, and try whether filial duty and conjugal affection could not obtain that which no other consideration had been able to procure. Accordingly these two venerable ladies, accompanied by the two young sons of Coriolanus, and a long train of Roman matrons, set out for the Volscian camp. Coriolanus perceived them at a distance, and easily guessed the purpose of their visit. He resolved to receive them with the same respect he had shewn to the ministers of religion; but to turn a deaf ear, however, to all their requests. But he counted upon a hardness of heart and a stubbornness of nature which he did not possess; for he no sooner beheld his wife and mother at the head of this mournful train of ladies, than he leaped from his tribunal to embrace them. After expressing their mutual joy at this unexpected meeting, Veturia began to open the purport of her errand; and Coriolanus, to prevent his being suspected by the Volscians, called the principal officers of his army to be witnesses of what passed at the interview. These were no sooner come, but Veturia,

ria, in order the more strongly to induce her son to grant her request, told him, that all those Roman ladies, who attended her, whom he well knew, and who were confessedly of the first families in Rome, had done every thing in their power, during his absence, to administer comfort to her and his wife; that touched with the calamities of war, and apprehending the fatal consequences of the siege of Rome, they were now come to beg peace at his hands. She therefore conjured him, in the name of the gods, to grant this favour to his country, and to turn the force of his arms upon some other foes.

CORIOLANUS said, that, by granting her request, he should offend those very gods, whose name she now invoked, and whom he had called to witness the faith he had sworn to the Volsci; that he could not think of betraying the interests of those who had not only raised him to an honourable rank in their senate, but had even intrusted him with the command of their army; that he had found at Antium (the capital of the Volsci) more honours and riches than he had lost at Rome by the ingratitude of his fellow-citizens; and that nothing would be wanting to his happiness, if she would please to be a partner in his fortune, and would come and enjoy among the Volsci the honours which they would not fail to pay to the mother of their general.

THE Volscian officers, who were present, shewed by their looks how highly they were satisfied with this answer; but Veturia, without entering into an invidious comparison between Rome and Antium, contented herself with telling her son, that she would never demand any thing of him that might fix a stain upon his character; but that, without being deficient in the duty he owed to the Volsci, he might easily be the means of bringing about a peace, that should be equally advantageous to both nations. “And can you, my son,” added she, raising her voice, “refuse a request so reasonable, unless you prefer the gratifying of a cruel and obstinate revenge to complying with the prayers and entreaties of your mother? Consider, that your answer is to decide the fate, not only of my character, but even of my life. If I carry back with me to Rome the hopes of an approaching peace; if I return thither with assurances of your reconciliation; with what transports of joy shall I be received by my fellow-citizens? The few days, which the gods may be pleased to permit me yet to pass on earth, will be surrounded with glory and with honour—nay, my happiness will not end with this mortal life—and if it be true, that there are different places for our souls after death, I shall not need to have the least apprehension



sion of those gloomy and obscure caverns where the wicked are confined: the Elyfian fields, that delicious abode set apart for the virtuous, will not even suffice for my reward. After having saved Rome, the city so dear to me, I may presume to hope for a place in that pure and sublime region of the air, which is supposed to be inhabited by the children of the gods. But I give myself up too much to these pleasing prospects. What, on the other hand, will become of me, if you persist in that implacable hatred, whose dreadful effects we have already experienced? Our colonies have been expelled by thy arms from most of the towns they formerly possessed; thy licentious soldiers have spread through the land, and have carried fire and sword where-ever they came: ought not these, by this time, to have satisfied thy vengeance? And hast thou had the heart to lay waste the country, which gave thee birth, and nourished thee so long? The moment thou sawest the walls of Rome, did it not occur to thee, that they inclosed all that was dearest to thee in this world; thy house, thy household gods, thy mother, thy wife, thy children? Dost thou believe, that covered with the shame of a contemptuous denial, I can patiently wait till thy arms have pronounced our doom? A Roman woman knows how to die when her honour calls upon her so to do; and if I cannot move thee, know that I have resolved to encounter death in thy presence. Thou shalt not march to Rome without treading over the body of her to whom thou owest thy being; and if a sight of so much horror has not power to stop thy fury, remember at least, that thou canst not enslave Rome without exposing thy wife and children to the dreadful alternative either of a speedy death or a tedious servitude."

CORIOLANUS, tossed with the violence of contending passions, was unable to make a reply: thirst of revenge on the one hand, and filial piety on the other, struggled long for the mastery. His mother seeing his resolution shaken, and fearing lest his rage should get the better of his compassion: "Why dost thou not answer me, my son?" said she: "Wilt thou not know thy mother? Hast thou forgot the care I took of thy infancy? And canst thou, who makest war only to be revenged of the ingratitude of thy fellow-citizens, deny me the first favour I ever asked thee, without incurring the guilt of the very same crime? If I required thee to betray the Volsci, who have given thee so generous a reception, thou wouldst have just cause to reject such a proposal. But Veturia is incapable of advising her son to any thing base. Thy glory is dearer to me even than my own life. I only desire thee to withdraw thy troops from the walls of Rome. Allow us a truce but for one year, that, in this interval,

measures may be taken for procuring a solid and lasting peace. Grant this, my son, I conjure thee by Jupiter, all good and all powerful, who presides in the capitol; by the manes of thy father and of thy ancestors. If my prayers and entreaties are not able to move thee, behold thy mother at thy feet, imploring of thee the preservation of her country." And, with these words, melting into tears, she embraced his knees; his wife and children did the same; and all the Roman ladies, that were with her, implored his pity in the most suppliant terms.

CORIOLANUS, transported, and as it were beside himself, to see Veturia at his feet, cried out, "Ah, mother, what is it you are doing?" And tenderly pressing her hand, as he lifted her up, "Rome," said he to her, "is saved, but your son is lost;" foreseeing, probably, that the Volsci would never forgive him for the step, which, in consequence of her importunities, he was going to embrace. He then took her apart with his wife, and agreed with them that he would endeavour to obtain the consent of the principal officers of his army for raising the blockade; that he would use all his interest and endeavours to bring the community of the Volsci to terms of accommodation; and, if he could not prevail with them, that he would lay down his command, and retire to some neutral city, there to wait till his friends had time to procure the repeal of his sentence of banishment, and thereby open the way for his return to Rome. He then took leave of his wife and mother, after having tenderly embraced them; and bent his whole attention towards obtaining a safe and honourable peace for his country.

NEXT day he called a council of war: he there represented the extreme difficulty of forming the siege of a city, which had a formidable army for its garrison, and where there were as many soldiers as there were inhabitants; and he concluded with observing, that the most prudent step they could take was to think of a retreat. No body ventured to dissent from this opinion; though every one knew what were the general's motives for so sudden a change of sentiment. The army accordingly began to draw off; and the Volsci, more affected with the filial piety of Coriolanus to his mother, than with the loss which themselves had thereby sustained, retired quietly into their several cantons.

VARIOUS accounts are given of the death of Coriolanus. Some say, that, upon his return to Antium, he was murdered in an insurrection of the people purposely excited by Tullus, general of the Volsci, who began to be jealous of his fame. Others alledge, that he lived to a very great age, and to-  
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wards the latter end of his life, was frequently heard to exclaim, that banishment was a great misfortune to any man; but much more to an old man.

To reward the ladies for the signal service they had done their country upon this occasion, a temple was erected to Female Fortune, into which none but persons of their sex were permitted to enter; and they were likewise allowed to express their sorrow for his death by wearing mourning for a whole year. It is more than probable, however, that neither the people nor the senate were sorry to have thus got rid of a man, who had always been an inveterate enemy of the former, and never very acceptable to the latter. It is remarkable, that Themistocles, who lived at the same time, met with a similar fate; for after having saved Athens by his courage and prudence, he was banished by the jealousy and ingratitude of the people, and retired into the enemy's country, where he died.

WHEN the Romans were free from foreign wars, they were always sure to be engaged in domestic feuds and dissensions. This was particularly the case at present; and the cause of dispute was the famous Agrarian law, proposed by the consul, Spurius Cassius Viscellinus, who is said, however, to have had no other view in promoting this law than merely to gain the favour of the people, and thereby pave his way to the attainment of the supreme power. The purport of the law was, that not only the people, but likewise the allies of Rome, should have a share of the lands lately conquered, and even of those that had been a long time usurped by the patricians. The people believed they had an exclusive right, and were offended at the thought of the allies being admitted. The senate laid hold of this distinction as an excellent pretext for defeating the purpose of the law, which, however, they could not help ratifying. They determined, that no foreigners should have a share but in proportion as they had contributed to the conquest, and they passed a decree, by which ten senators were intrusted with the execution of the law; thinking by this means to gain time to disappoint the views of Cassius; who was no sooner out of office, than he was accused before the people, by two questors, of aiming at the sovereignty. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus he was convicted of the crime, and thrown from the top of the Tarpeian rock; and some writers say, that his father himself carried on the prosecution before the senate, and caused the sentence to be executed in his own sight. Certain it is, that the senate frequently accused those

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of aiming at the supreme power, whom they had a mind to destroy.

As the passing of this law was only an artifice to deceive the people, the execution of it was demanded in vain, and every thing foreboded a speedy rupture between the patricians and plebeians. The senate, therefore, employed their utmost art to stir up new wars, in order to turn the restless humour of the people from domestic towards foreign concerns. The people in disgust refused to insist, but they were compelled to it by the senate's threatening to appoint a dictator; and the *Æqui*, the *Volsci*, the *Veians* and *Tuscans* were all defeated in different engagements.

It was in one of these wars, that the family of the *Fabii* performed one of the most gallant and patriotic actions that is recorded in history. Finding that the state was very much distressed rather by the multiplicity than the strength of its enemies, and was not well able to guard against the incursions of all the various foes by whom it was surrounded, they applied to the senate, by the mouth of the consul, and demanded as a favour, that they would be pleased to transfer to their house, the care and expence of the garrison, necessary to oppose the incursions of the *Veientes*, which required a watchful rather than a numerous body, promising to maintain with spirit the honour of the Roman people in that post. Every body was charmed with so noble and unheard of an offer, and it was accepted with the strongest expressions of gratitude. The news immediately ran over the city, and nothing was talked of but the *Fabii*. Every body praised, every body admired and extolled them to the skies. "If there were two more such families in Rome," said they, "the one might take upon them the care of the war against the *Volsci*, and the other against the *Æqui*, whilst the commonwealth remained quiet, and the forces of individuals subdued the neighbouring states for it."

EARLY the next day the *Fabii* set out, with the consul at their head, robed in his coat of arms. Never (says Livy) was there so small, and at the same time so illustrious an army seen. Three hundred and six soldiers, all patricians, and of the same family, of whom not one but might be thought worthy of commanding an army, marched against *Veii*, full of courage and alacrity, under a captain of their own name, *Fabius*. They were followed by a body of their friends and clients, animated with the same zeal and spirit, and actuated only by great and patriotic views. That troop amounted to about four thousand men. The whole city flocked to see so  
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fine a fight, extolled the courage of these generous soldiers, and promised them consulships, triumphs, and every other reward in the power of a grateful people to bestow. As they passed before the capitol and other temples, every body implored the gods to take them into their protection, to prosper the enterprize in which they were engaged, and to grant them a speedy and a happy return.

WHEN they arrived at the banks of the river Cremera, which was not far from Veii, they built a fort upon a very steep and rugged mountain; and in order to render the approach to it still more difficult, they surrounded it with a double ditch, and flanked it with several towers. From this fort they continued to make repeated incursions into the territory of the Veians, and kept that people in such a perpetual alarm, that they were afraid to appear without the walls of their cities, and left the adjacent country exposed to the ravages of the enemy. At length, grown confident by success, they began to conduct their military enterprizes with less caution than formerly; and this furnished the Veians with an opportunity of forming a plan for taking them by surprise. With this view they contrived to place a number of men in ambush upon the hills that overlooked the neighbouring plain, which they took care, at the same time, to cover with a greater quantity of cattle than usual. The Fabii seeing so many cattle, and but very slightly guarded, thought they might easily make a prey of them, and for this purpose they descended into the plain, and having seized the shepherds, and routed the few troops that attended them, and who purposely made but a very faint resistance, they were beginning to drive away the cattle, when the men placed in ambush, suddenly started up, and encompassing the Fabii on all sides, commenced a most furious attack upon them. The Fabii, seeing themselves thus surrounded, and no possibility of escape remaining, resolved to sell their lives as dearly as possible; and accordingly, drawing up in the form of a wedge, and forcing their way to the side of the mountain, they there gained a rising ground, where they continued to defend themselves with the most desperate valour; but the enemy having taken a compass, and by that means reached the top of the mountain, poured down upon them such thick and repeated showers of darts, they could no longer hold up against such a furious assault. They continued, nevertheless, to fight to the very last, and were all killed but one, who preserved the name and family, and from him sprung all the succeeding Fabii, and particularly the dictator, Fabius Maximus, that afterwards made so distinguished

guished a figure. The Roman people were deeply affected with the loss of the Fabii. The day of their defeat was ranked among the unfortunate days, called *Nefasti*, on which the tribunals were shut up, and no public business could be done, or at least finally concluded. And indeed it was impossible to pay too much honour to the memory of these illustrious patricians, who had thus generously sacrificed their lives for the honour and interest of their country; for a like instance of courage and patriotism was never known to occur in any age or nation.

UPON the defeat of the Fabii, the Veientes invaded the Roman territories, and marching up to the very gates of Rome, made themselves masters of mount Janiculum, from which, however, they were in a little time dislodged.

PEACE abroad was always succeeded by contentions at home; and the Agrarian law was the perpetual subject in dispute between the patricians and plebeians. This was now carried to such a degree of violence, that there was an absolute necessity for having recourse to some extraordinary expedient in order to quiet the commotions in the city, and the senate resolved to create a dictator. They fixed their choice upon Quintius Cincinnatus, a man who had been originally possessed of a very large fortune, but the whole of which, except a small farm, he had been obliged to dispose of in order to pay a heavy fine imposed on his son Cæso. From that time he had continued to lead an obscure but contented life in the country, not in the least interfering with the management of public affairs, but still anxious for the welfare of his country. When the deputies of the senate, therefore, approached him, they found him employed in holding the plough, and dressed in the mean garb of an husbandman; and so far from being elated with the high station to which he was now advanced, he only expressed his sorrow that the Romans should stand in need of his assistance, and said to his wife on taking leave of her, "I fear, my Attilia, that, for this year, our little fields must remain unsown." He then repaired to the city, where he conducted himself with so much spirit and prudence, that he soon appeased the popular commotion; and having thus restored tranquillity to the state, he laid down his office with more pleasure than he had felt in assuming it.

He was not, however, suffered to continue long in his rural retreat, to which he had returned. He was obliged, in a little time, by the necessities of the state, to exercise once more the office of dictator. The consul, Minucius, being intrusted with the conduct of the war against the *Æqui*, had suffered himself and his army to be cooped in a narrow defile between



between two mountains; and the enemy taking advantage of this act of imprudence, had formed intrenchments behind him, so that he must have been compelled, in a few days, to surrender at discretion. In this extremity, Cincinnatus was again sent for, and invested with the dictatorial power as formerly; and having levied an army in the space of a few hours, he marched directly from Rome, and arrived in the rear of the enemy before the next morning. The first thing he did was to order his soldiers to set up a loud shout, in order to apprize their friends that assistance was at hand. He then commanded them to throw up intrenchments, by which means he put the enemy into the same, or even into a worse situation than they had put the army of the consul. The Volsci, now seeing one army in their front and another in their rear, and at the same time observing that all possibility of escape was cut off, had no other alternative left than to submit to the dictator, who was graciously pleased to spare their lives, but, as a mark of their captivity, obliged them, however, to pass under the yoke. This was formed of two spears set upright in the earth, and another laid across and fastened at their tops in the shape of a gibbet; and the passing under it was the greatest infamy that could be inflicted upon a vanquished enemy. As to their captains and generals, he made them prisoners of war, and reserved them to adorn his triumph. The plunder of the enemy's camp he bestowed entirely upon his own soldiers, without reserving any part of it for himself, or permitting those of the delivered army to partake in the spoils. Thus having rescued a Roman army from inevitable destruction, having defeated that of a formidable enemy, and having taken one of their chief towns, named Corbio, which he secured with a garrison, he returned to Rome, and resigned his dictatorship in sixteen days after he had received it, though he might lawfully have retained it for the space of six months. The senate decreed him one of the most splendid triumphs that ever had been conferred upon any general; and would willingly have made his riches equal to his honours, would he have condescended to accept them; but this he declined, and returned to his humble hut and rustic labours, in which he seemed to take more pleasure than in all the pomp and magnificence that Rome had to bestow.

THE Agrarian law still continued to keep the minds of the people in a ferment; and their clamours at this time were considerably increased by a vehement speech which Siccius Dentatus made from the rostrum. He was an old plebeian, of an handsome aspect, though near sixty years of age; and with a

soldier's boldness he ventured to speak freely of his own achievements, and of the various actions in which he had been engaged. He said, that it was now forty years since he had begun to bear arms; that he had been in one hundred and twenty battles; that he had received forty-five wounds, and all before; that he had obtained fourteen civic crowns for having saved the lives of so many citizens in battle; that he had received three mural crowns for having first mounted the breach in towns taken by storm; that his generals had given him eight other crowns for having rescued the standards of the legions out of the hands of the enemy; that he had in his house eighty collars of gold, above sixty bracelets, gilded javelins, gorgeous coats of arms, and trappings for horses, which had been given him as testimonies of the victories he had gained in single combat in the fight of both armies; that these, however, were all the rewards he had ever received for his many important services; that neither he nor any other brave plebeian, who with the loss of their blood had won for the republic the better part of her territory, possessed the smallest portion of it; that their conquests had fallen a prey to some patricians, whose only merit lay in the nobility of their birth, and the celebrity of their names; and that not one of these could justify their possession of the public lands by any lawful title, unless they looked upon the possessions of the state as their own patrimony, and considered the plebeians as vile slaves, unworthy to have any share in the riches of the community. He added, that it was now time for a generous people to do themselves justice, and that they ought to prove, by passing the law for the partition of lands, that they had no less resolution to stand by their tribunes in accomplishing this measure, than they had shewn courage in the field against the enemies of the state. This speech made such an impression upon the assembly, that it was determined to bring the question of the Agrarian law to an immediate decision; and the consul Icilius, who favoured the popular cause, was preparing to collect the votes, when the young senators, who were as eager to prevent the law as the people were to obtain it, rushed into the crowd, and excited such a tumult and confusion, that it was impossible for the present to proceed any farther.



## C H A P. XII.

*From the APPOINTMENT of the DECEMVIRI to the ABOLITION of their OFFICE.*

[ANN. ROM. 302.]

**H**ITHERTO every thing had been conducted at Rome by a majority of votes either of the senate or the people, or by their arbitrary will and discretion. It was now, however, determined to have a body of written laws to regulate the decision as well of public as of private questions. For this purpose three senators, Posthumius, Sulpicius, and Manlius, were appointed to go to the Greek cities in Italy and to Athens, and to import from thence such laws and customs as should seem best adapted to the genius of the Romans. After being absent about a year, they returned, and brought with them a body of institutes, which were ordered to be digested into form; and to this end ten senators were elected, who were called Decemviri. The duration of their office was at first limited to one year, during which time they were invested with absolute power, and the authority of all other magistrates, whether consuls, tribunes, ædiles, or questors, was abolished, or at least suspended. After long and mature deliberation, they produced their laws, which were divided into ten tables, and two being afterwards added, composed the twelve tables of the Roman law, which were afterwards held in the highest veneration. Cicero says of them, that they contained a better system of politics, and even of morality, than all the writings of the most learned philosophers.

THESE laws consisted of three parts. The first contained things relating to religion; the second, such matters as concerned the public; and the third, the rights of private persons. The explanation of them was called *Jus Civile*, or the civil law; and the cases composed out of them *Actiones Juris*, or cases at law. The rest of the Roman laws, that either took place before or after them, were of four kinds, viz. *Plebiscitum*, made by the authority of the plebeians alone; an edict of a magistrate, called *Jus Honorarium*; *Senatus Consultum*, or an ordinance of the senate; and lastly, that called *Principalis Constitutio*, enacted by the prince or emperor. The decemviri having tasted the sweets of power, were unwilling to resign it, and they prevailed upon the senate to continue them in their office; but as all power, and especially all arbitrary power, is apt to be

be abused, they soon gave, by their violent conduct, an additional proof of the truth of this maxim. In a little time they broke out into the most furious acts of tyranny. They banished some; they murdered others; they threw one man into prison, and confiscated the estate of another: in a word, they committed so many and such daring outrages as exposed them to the resentment of the whole body of the people. This evidently appeared in a variety of instances, and particularly in the war with the *Æqui* and the *Volsci*, where the soldiers rather chose to suffer themselves to be beat, than to gain a victory for a general they hated.

NOR were they satisfied with attacking the lives and liberties of those of their own sex; they even made attempts upon the chastity of the other. Appius, one of the most powerful and unpopular of the decemvirs, happened one day, while sitting on his tribunal, to cast his eyes on a young lady named Virginia, as she was going to the public schools; for it was the custom among the Romans for girls to attend the public schools as well as the boys. Struck with her beauty, he resolved, if possible, to get her into his possession. At first he made use of those gentle arts which lovers commonly employ; but finding all his endeavours of this kind ineffectual, he had recourse to methods more violent and criminal. He suborned one of his clients, named Claudius, a man of profligate and abandoned morals, to claim her as his slave, hoping that, if he could succeed in this attempt, he should easily make himself master of her person. Accordingly, Claudius one day meeting her, as she was going to school, stopped her, asserted she was his slave, and bade her follow him, or he would oblige her to do so by force. Virginia, amazed and trembling with fear, did not know what he meant; and the governess, who attended her, raised a loud cry, and implored the assistance of the people. Relations and friends ran from all parts to join her, and the most indifferent were deeply affected with the sight. This for the present secured her from violence. Claudius, finding he should meet with opposition, began to assume a milder tone, saying that there was no occasion for so much noise; that he had no intention of having recourse to force, but solely to employ the usual methods; and he immediately cited Virginia before the magistrate, whether she followed him by the advice of her friends. When they came to Appius's tribunal, the claimant repeated his well known tale to the judge, with whom it had been concerted. He said, that Virginia was born in his house of one of his slaves, who had carried her away, and sold her to Virginia's wife, who was barren, and who being unwilling to remain



remain without children, had adopted this child, and brought her up as her own; that he had incontestable proofs of the fact, against the validity of which Virginius himself, were he present, could not possibly have any thing to object. He concluded with demanding, that, as the absence of Virginius prevented the matter from being finally determined, the slave should, in the mean time, be made to follow her master. This, however, was directly contrary to a law enacted by the decemvirs themselves. This law declared, "that if a person, enjoying liberty, should be claimed as a slave, such person should continue at liberty till a definitive sentence was given in the case." In vain did Numitorius, Virginia's uncle, alledge this equitable law. In vain did he urge, that as Virginius was absent in the service of his country, it was but just the sentence should be delayed, till he could appear to defend his daughter in person. Appius said, that the law, which had been cited, was a striking proof of his own zeal for the liberty of the people; that if the father were present, the maid might be put into his hands without any difficulty, and therefore it was necessary he should be sent for immediately. In the mean time he decreed, that she should be put into the hands of Claudius, who should give sufficient security for producing her upon the arrival of her father.

On the passing of this sentence Virginia burst into tears and lamentations, in which she was joined by the women that attended her. Every body was filled with horror and indignation, but no one ventured to speak his mind freely. At last Icilius, to whom Virginia had been betrothed, started up in order to protect his intended spouse. The lictor, calling out that sentence was already passed, endeavoured to oppose him, and thrust him back rudely. But Icilius, who was young and spirited, was not to be so easily repulsed. "You must remove me hence, Appius," said he, "with the sword, if you would prevent my discovering your infamous design. I am to marry this maid, but to marry her a pure and untainted virgin. Therefore assemble, if you please, all your lictors, and those of your colleagues, and bid them make ready their rods and axes; but the bride of Icilius shall not stay out of her father's house. Though you and your colleagues have deprived the people of their tribunes and their right of appeal, the two great bulwarks of their liberty, do not imagine that you have therefore a power to treat our wives and daughters according to the dictates of your lust. Rage, tyrannize, if you will, over our persons; but let chastity and innocence at least be exempt from your violence." He concluded

cluded with saying, that, while he had life, he should always, he hoped, have the courage and constancy to protect the virtue of his intended spouse.

THIS speech inflamed the multitude to such a degree, that they were ready to proceed to the utmost extremities; and Appius, finding that he should meet with resistance, was obliged to relax of his former rigour. He said, "he perceived, that Icilius, still full of the pride and violence of the tribune, (for Icilius had formerly been tribune) only wanted to excite a tumult; but that, for the present, however, he would not furnish him with an opportunity; that, on account of Virginius's absence (who was then a centurion with the army in the field), his character as father, and likewise from a regard to the common cause of liberty, he was willing to defer judgment till the next day; but that if Virginius did not then appear, he now gave warning to Icilius, and all his abettors, that he should proceed in the case, and that his own lictors, without those of his colleagues, would be fully sufficient to chastise the insolence of such demagogues as he." After sitting some time longer on the bench, to prevent its being suspected, that he had come thither solely on account of this affair, he rose, and went home, greatly chagrined at the opposition he had met with. The first thing he did after his return to his house, was to write to his colleagues in the camp, desiring them not to suffer Virginius to leave it, but, on the contrary, to keep him confined under a strong guard. The courier was dispatched immediately, but was too late in arriving. The affair of Virginia was no sooner known, than Icilius's brother and Numitorius's son, two active young men, took horse, and riding full speed, arrived in the camp long before the messenger of Appius. They even arrived so long before him, that Virginius had already got leave of absence, and was set out for Rome, which he reached in a few hours.

NEXT day he appeared in the forum, pierced to the heart with grief, and leading by the hand his daughter all drowned in tears. She was accompanied by her kinswomen, who asked the people in the most moving terms, whether it was fit, that a citizen, while he was venturing his life in defence of his country, should have his children exposed to more barbarous insults than if the city had fallen into the hands of an enemy. Virginius used almost the same expressions to all he met, and conjured them to take his daughter into their protection. Icilius, quite furious with love and resentment, gave full scope to his rage, and inveighed bitterly against Appius's lust. But the tears of Virginia herself, her youth, her innocence, her beauty, made a much deeper impression  
upon



upon the minds of the people than all the complaints and entreaties of her friends.

APPIUS was equally surpris'd and alarmed when he heard of the arrival of Virginius: he began to fear that this single circumstance would disconcert all his measures. To prevent, therefore, any opposition on the day of trial, he caus'd the troops in the capitol to march down to the forum; and repairing thither himself, and ascending the tribunal, he commanded Claudius to open his demand, and proceed in his action. Claudius then said, that he need not observe what was acknowledged by every body, that slaves belonged to the masters of their parents, and in that character he claimed Virginia as his property. At the same time he produced a female slave, whom he had suborned to swear, that she had sold Virginia to the wife of her reputed father, and ended his speech by asserting, that he could confirm her testimony by that of many others, were it thought necessary.

To shew the falsity of these allegations, Virginius represented, that his wife had had several children, and, if upon her losing them, she had been inclined to adopt a suppositious child, she would certainly have pitched upon a boy rather than a girl; that her neighbours had seen her big with this very daughter; that the child, when it came into the world, was received into the hands of her relations; that it was well known his wife Numitoria did herself give suck to young Virginia, which she could not have done, had she been barren, as was falsely asserted; and that it was strange that Claudius had suffered his claims to lie dormant for the space of fifteen years, and had never thought proper to urge them till Virginia was grown up to woman's estate, and was acknowledged to be possessed of that exquisite beauty, which was the cause of her present misfortune. Appius, apprehensive lest these arguments should make too strong an impression on the minds of the people, started up and said, "Virginia's friends must not pretend to take advantage of the long forbearance of Claudius; for I myself can bear witness to the truth of the deposition he has now made. Every body knows, that I was left guardian to this youth, and I was early informed that he had a right to this young woman; but the affairs of the public, and the dissensions of the people, have hitherto prevented me from doing him justice. However, it is not yet too late; and by the power vested in me for the public good, I adjudge Virginia to be the property of Claudius."

VIRGINIUS, enraged beyond the power of bearing by such a mixture of impudence and injustice, was no longer able to  
restrain

restrain his indignation. He loudly declared to the whole assembly, that the decemvir himself was the contriver of the plot which his client was now executing ; and addressing his speech to Appius, “ Know, said he to him, that I did not educate my daughter to prostitute her to thy impure desires. I gave her to Icilius, and not to thee. Couldst thou imagine, that the Romans would suffer their wives and daughters to be taken from them to satiate the lust of a cruel tyrant ? ” The multitude, on hearing this, raised a loud outcry, expressive of their indignation. Appius, almost frantic to see his guilt discovered, commanded the soldiers to drive away the people : “ And you,” said he, turning to one of the lictors, “ go, force a passage through the crowd, and make way for a master to take possession of his slave.”

THE people, accordingly, were immediately dispersed, and the lictor was upon the point of seizing Virginia, and delivering her into the hands of Claudius, when the unhappy father, reduced to despair, formed within himself a most dreadful resolution. He affected to acquiesce in the sentence, and only entreated Appius to indulge him so far as to permit him to speak a few words with Virginia and her nurse, “ in order,” said he, “ that if I can discover some signs of my not being her father, I may return to the camp with less grief and vexation.” This favour was readily granted, but only on condition, that every thing should pass in the presence of Claudius. Virginius then, advancing through the crowd, took his almost expiring daughter in his arms, supported for a while her head upon his breast, and wiped away the tears that trickled down her cheeks. He most tenderly embraced her, and drew her insensibly to some shops which were on the side of the forum. There snatching up a butcher’s knife, “ My dearest, lost child,” cried he, “ thus, thus alone is it in my power to preserve thy honour and thy freedom ! ” So saying, he plunged the weapon into her heart. Then drawing it out, all reeking with her blood, and holding it up to Appius, “ Tyrant,” cried he, “ by this blood I devote thy head to the infernal gods.” Thus saying, and covered with his daughter’s blood, the knife remaining in his hand, threatening destruction to whoever should oppose him, he ran wildly round the forum, calling upon the people to assert their liberty ; and being favoured by the multitude, he made towards one of the city gates, where mounting a horse that waited for him, he rode directly towards the camp.

THERE he had no sooner arrived, than the knife which he still held in his hand, and the blood with which his body was covered,



covered, drew upon him the eyes of the whole army, who had already indeed heard something of his misfortune, and wished to be more particularly informed. Virginius got upon a small eminence, from which he might be the more easily heard. His face was bathed in tears, and grief for some time tied up his tongue. At length breaking this mournful silence, and raising his hands to heaven, "I call you to witness, ye immortal gods," said he, "that Appius alone is guilty of the crime I have been forced to commit." He then related every circumstance of the plot, which the decemvir had formed against his daughter. And continuing his speech, "I conjure you, my fellow soldiers," said he, "do not drive me out of your company as a parricide and the murderer of my daughter. I would willingly have sacrificed my own life to preserve hers, could she have retained her honour and her liberty. But finding the tyrant only meant to make her a slave, in order to have an opportunity of dishonouring her, pity alone made me cruel: I rather chose to lose my daughter, than to keep her with infamy; but I would not have survived her one moment, had I not hoped to revenge her death by your assistance."

THIS speech made a powerful impression upon the whole army. The soldiers declared they were ready to assist him, not only in avenging his own wrongs, but in securing the public liberty; and with that view they meant to extend their resentment to the whole body of decemvirs, whose authority, as it had long since expired, was now become illegal, and besides had degenerated into downright tyranny. To arms, therefore, was the universal cry; the standards were pulled up; and the troops began their march directly for Rome. They first took possession of the Aventine mount; and not being able there to obtain their full desires, they withdrew, in a few days, to the Sacred Mountain, where the senate being intimidated by their firmness and perseverance, were obliged to comply with all their demands. The decemvirate was abolished; the offices of consul and tribune were restored; Appius died by his own hands in prison; Oppius, the next to him in guilt, and likewise in unpopularity, shared the same fate; the other eight decemvirs went into voluntary exile; and Claudius, the pretended master of Virginia, was driven out to banishment. Thus, says Livy, the manes of Virginia, more happy after her death than in her life, after having wandered through so many houses in pursuit of just vengeance, were at length appeased by the punishment of all the guilty.

## C H A P. XIII.

*From the ABOLITION of the DECEMVIRATE to the  
BURNING of ROME by the GAULS.*

[ANN. ROM. 306.]

THE government being now re-established upon its ancient footing, the two new consuls Horatius and Valerius, marched against the Æqui and the Volsci, who had invaded the Roman territories, and over whom they obtained a complete victory; but as these were popular magistrates, and had sided with the people in the late violent dissensions, the senate now refused them the honour of a triumph. The people, therefore, provoked at this unjust refusal, decreed them a triumph by their own proper authority, and this was the first time they had ever presumed to exercise such a power. Not satisfied with this, they insisted upon two new laws being passed in their favour; one for permitting intermarriages between patricians and plebeians; the other for giving the plebeians a share in the consulship. To divert them from the prosecution of these two objects, the senate gave out that the Roman territories were invaded by some of the neighbouring states, and that there was an absolute necessity for levying an army and marching against the enemy.

THEY likewise started a number of objections against the two proposed laws; but these appear to have been fully refuted by the tribune Canuleius, who addressed the people in the following terms. “Romans,” said he, “I have already often observed, how much the senators despise you, and how unworthy they think you of living within the walls of the same city with them; but I never perceived it more clearly than this day, in the violence and fury with which they oppose the laws we now wish to pass. And, notwithstanding, what is it we pretend to by these laws, but to make them sensible that we are their fellow-citizens, and that if we have not the same fortunes as they, we however are inhabitants of the same country. By one of these laws we demand the liberty of marriage between the two orders. Now marriage is often granted to the members of neighbouring states, and even to strangers. Rome does more, in conferring the freedom of the city upon conquered enemies, a thing undoubtedly far more considerable than marriage. By the other law we propose nothing new. We only claim, what has at all times been



been the right of the Roman people, that is, the liberty of conferring honours upon whomsoever they think worthy of them. What is there then in all this, that deserves so much noise and uproar from the senators, that they are almost ready to fall upon me with violence in their house; that they threaten not to spare our persons, and to violate the power of the tribunes, all sacred as it is?

“How! if the Roman people be left at liberty to bestow the consulship by their suffrages on whom they think fit; if the plebeians are not deprived of the hope of attaining the first office in the state, in case they are deemed worthy of it, will it not be possible for the state to subsist? Will its dominion be at an end? And to demand, that a plebeian may be elected consul, is it the same thing as to desire to give that office to a slave or a freedman? Do you perceive, Romans, in what contempt you are held? They would deprive you of part of this light of heaven, if they could. It is with pain they suffer you to breathe the same air with them, that you have the use of speech, and the form of men.

“If we believe them, it were a crime, an enormous crime, to elect a plebeian consul. Though we are not permitted to inspect the *fasti*, and the annals of the pontiffs, do we not know, what every stranger knows, that the consuls succeeded the kings in their office, and that they had no power nor precedence, but what the latter had before them? And do you believe, patricians, we never heard that Numa Pompilius was sent for from his farm in the country, by order of the people and senate, to ascend the throne, and that he was neither a patrician, nor a Roman citizen? That L. Tarquinius afterwards, who was neither of Roman, nor even of Italian extraction, the son of Demaratus of Corinth, and of Tarquinius, where his father had settled, was made king in the life-time of Ancus’s children? That after him Servius Tullius, the son of a slave, attained the sovereignty by his excellent qualities and extraordinary merit? Why should I mention T. Tatius the Sabine, whom Romulus, the founder of our city, thought fit to associate with himself in the government? We see then that as long as regard was had at Rome to merit of whatsoever extraction, its dominions were enlarged, and its power augmented.

“Do you blush now to have a plebeian consul, after our ancestors have not refused to have strangers for their kings, and have esteemed and rewarded merit in them since the extinction of the sovereignty? For since then we have received the family of the Claudii amongst us, and not only conferred the freedom of the city upon them, but admitted them into  
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the order of patricians. A stranger may become a patrician, and afterwards consul; and shall a Roman citizen be excluded the consulship, solely because he is born a plebeian? Do we believe then, that it is impossible for the people to produce a man of merit and courage, capable of filling an important office either in peace or war, and one resembling Numa, Tarquin, or Servius in his character? And if one of this description should happen to arise, shall we never suffer the helm of state to be put into his hands? and shall we chuse to have men for consuls, like the decemviri, the most wicked of mortals, and all of them patricians, rather than persons, that resemble the best of our kings, whose births were not illustrious?

“BUT, perhaps, some one will object, that no plebeian, has been consul since the expulsion of the kings. And what is to be inferred from thence? Are we never to think of any new institution? How many have been made since the commonwealth began? Who can imagine, that in a city which is to endure for ever, and to augment to infinity, new offices, priesthoods, customs, and laws, will not be frequently instituted? The law itself, which prohibits the intermarriage of the patricians with the plebeians, were they not the decemvirs who passed it some few years since, to the great prejudice of the public, and the disgrace of the people? Is there any thing, in effect, more injurious or more contemptuous, than to declare one part of the citizens unworthy of allying themselves in marriage with the other, as if they were polluted or profane? Is it not, in some measure, to be excluded, and to suffer a kind of banishment even within the walls of the city, to be incapable of contracting either alliance or affinity in it?

“IF you are convinced, that to mingle your blood with that of the plebeians, would be a stain to your nobility, why do you not take wise but secret measures to preserve its pretended purity, by neither chusing wives yourselves from amongst us, nor permitting your daughters and sisters to marry with any but patricians? No plebeian will offer violence to a patrician virgin: that would be invading the peculiar privilege of the patricians. Nobody will ever force you to contract such alliances. But to forbid them by a law, and prohibit marriages between the senators and people, this is what we consider as the highest indignity. You might pass the same interdiction with respect to the rich and poor. Why don't you also forbid the plebeians to live in the neighbourhood of the patricians, to walk in the same streets, to eat at the same tables,



tables, or to be present in the forum, and in the same assemblies with them?

“BUT, to be brief, do you believe yourselves lords and masters, and that you have a supreme authority here? When the kings were expelled, was it to give you absolute dominion, or to procure the common and equal liberty of all? Are the people to be suffered to pass a law, if they think it useful and necessary; or, as soon as they propose it, have you a right to punish them by decreeing levies? and as soon as I, the tribune, begin to call upon the tribes to give their suffrages, shall you, the consul, immediately oblige the youth to take the military oath, and march them to the camp, menacing both the tribune and people? I declare, consuls, that the people shall be ready to take arms against the enemy, of whom you tell us, whether real or pretended, if, in the first place, you consent, that the patricians and plebeians shall, for the future, make but one and the same people by the ties of marriage and mutual affinity; and, in the second, if the entrance to honours be open to all persons of merit and valour, in order that the annual magistracy, possessed thus indifferently by the two orders of the state, may shew, that they are equally called upon to command and obey, in which true liberty consists. But if these two laws are opposed, talk as long as you will of wars, multiply the forces of the enemy, exaggerate the danger as if already at our door, not a man shall enter for the service, nor fight for haughty masters, who disdain to associate themselves with us in public by honours, and in private by marriages.”

THE senate, unwilling to yield to the people in both their demands, and being afraid to provoke them beyond measure, resolved at last to compromise the matter. They gave their consent to the law concerning marriages, hoping that that for the present would content them. In this, however, they were greatly disappointed. The people insisted on the law respecting the consulship with no less eagerness than they had urged that about the marriages; and the senate, seeing the necessity of gratifying them in this point as well as in the other, proposed, that a certain number of annual governors should be chosen, to be taken indifferently from among the patricians or plebeians; and that when the time of their magistracy should be expired, it might then be determined whether it was proper to continue the office, or re-establish the consulship upon its former footing. The people, less anxious about names than things, and pleased with the prospect of being admitted to some share of the consular power, very readily came into the proposal; yet so  
fickle

fickle were they, that when the day of election arrived, they gave their suffrages to none but patricians, to the exclusion of the candidates of their own order. These new magistrates were called military tribunes: they were at first but two, afterwards they were increased to four, and at length to six. They had the authority and ensigns of consuls; yet that authority being divided amongst a number, each single tribune had, for that reason, the less. The first that were chosen only continued in office about three months, the augurs having discovered some flaw in the ceremony of their election.

THE military tribunes being deposed, the consuls once more came into office; and in order to lighten the weight of business that lay upon their hands, a new office was erected, namely, that of censors, who were to be chosen every fifth year, though the duration of their authority was afterwards limited to eighteen months. The office was at first of very little consequence, though it afterwards grew to be one of the most considerable in the state, and was even thought more honourable than that of the consuls themselves, most of those that were advanced to it being such as had enjoyed the dignity of consul. Their business consisted of two parts, viz. the survey of the people, and the censure of manners. As to the first, they took an exact account of the number and estates of the people, and distributed them into their proper classes. They likewise took care of the public taxes, and made laws for imposing and collecting them. They were also inspectors of the public ways and buildings, and defrayed the expence of such sacrifices as were made on account of the public. With regard to the latter part of their duty, they had power to punish all kind of vice in any person whatever. The senators they might expel the house, which was done by omitting to mention them when they called over the names of the other members. The knights they punished by taking away the horse allowed them by the public. The people they might either degrade from a higher tribe to a lower, or quite disable them from giving their votes, or set a fine upon them to be paid into the treasury. And sometimes, when a senator or knight had been guilty of any notorious crime, he suffered two of these punishments, or all three at once. The greatest part of the censor's business was performed every fifth year, when, after the survey of the people, and an inquiry into their manners, he made a solemn lustration, or expiatory sacrifice, in the name of all the Romans. This sacrifice consisted of a sow, a sheep, and a bull, whence it took the name of *Suo-vetaurilia*. The ceremony of performing it they called *Lustrum condere*; and hence the word *lustrum* came in



in time to signify the space of five years. The two first censors were Papirius and Sempronius, both patricians; and from this order censors continued to be chosen for upwards of a hundred years.

ABOUT this time the Romans were afflicted with a severe famine, and this inspired a rich knight, named Spurius Mælius, with the hopes, and even, as he thought, furnished him with the means of making himself master of the liberties of his country. With this view he caused all the corn in the neighbouring states of Italy to be bought up, and distributed among the poor gratis. Having thus gained, as he imagined, a sufficient number of partizans, he procured large quantities of arms to be brought into his house by night, and formed a conspiracy, by which he was to be raised to the supreme power, while some of the tribunes, whom he had found means to corrupt, were to assist him in accomplishing this hazardous undertaking. The plot, however, was happily discovered by Lucius Minucius, prefect or superintendant of provisions, and the senate being informed of it, immediately resolved to create a dictator. They accordingly appoint to that high office Quintius Cincinnatus, though he was now more than eighty years old. Cincinnatus began by summoning Mælius to appear before him, and that demagogue refusing to obey, he next sent Ahala, the master of his horse, to compel him; but Mælius still continuing refractory, Ahala pursued him into the midst of the crowd, where he had taken shelter, and with his own hands killed him upon the spot. The dictator applauded the resolution of his officer, and commanded the conspirator's goods to be sold, and his house to be demolished, distributing his stores among the people.

THE tribunes were highly incensed at the death of Mælius; and in order to express their indignation on that account, they refused to consent to the election of consuls, but insisted on restoring their military tribunes. With this the senate were obliged to comply; but next year the government returned into its wonted channel, and consuls were chosen.

ABOUT this time, the people of Fidenæ, which was a Roman colony, abandoned the interest of their mother country, and went over to the Veientes, of whom Lars Tolumnius was then king. To the crime of revolt they added that of cruelty in killing, by order of Tolumnius, the Roman ambassadors, who had been sent to complain of their treacherous conduct, and enquire into their reasons for such a behaviour. They therefore declared war, not only against the Fidenates, but likewise against the Veians. The hostile armies soon came to an engagement, when Cornelius Cossus, a young  
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Roman officer, of illustrious birth, and great personal valour, observing Tolumnius at a distance, cried out, "Is that then the man that breaks through all laws human and divine? I doubt, if there are gods avengers of impiety, but I shall soon offer him as a sacrifice to the manes of our ambassadors." So saying, he rode furiously against him, and with the first stroke of his lance threw him headlong from his horse. Then suddenly dismounting, he beat him down as he was attempting to rise, and after giving him several desperate wounds, he run him through the body, and nailed him to the ground. After this he stripped him of his armour, and having cut off his head, and fixed it to the end of a spear, he held it up aloft as a proof of his victory. This struck the enemy with such a general panic, that they immediately took to flight, and were pursued by the Romans with great slaughter. These were the second royal spoils, called *Spolia opima*, that had been taken since the foundation of Rome. Cossus placed them in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, close by those which Romulus had taken from Acron, king of the Cæninenses.

ABOUT this time a law was passed, which, though in latter times it would have been treated with contempt and ridicule, was now considered as a very serious matter. All the Roman citizens, it seems, wore white garments; but those who stood candidates for public offices, and solicited the votes of the people, in order to render themselves more conspicuous, augmented the whiteness of their clothes by the use of a mixture, in which chalk was a considerable ingredient; and hence it was that they were called *candidati*, or candidates. The tribunes, however, thinking that the patricians excelled the plebeians in this mechanical manner of canvassing, proposed a law, which was passed, ordaining that those who stood candidates for public employments, should, for the future, wear no whiter garments than the rest of the Roman citizens.

SUCH purity of morals, and even such severity of manners, were expected from the vestal virgins, that any approach towards a light or indecent behaviour was enough to bring them into suspicion of having violated their vow of chastity. One of them, named Posthumia, was now tried as having been guilty of this crime, merely on account of the gaiety of her deportment, and though she was in the end acquitted, yet was advised by the pontiff to be more guarded in her conduct for the future.

THE Roman soldiers had hitherto served their country at their own expence, and without receiving any pay from the public. Every man was obliged to maintain himself from his own private fortune, as well in the field as in winter quarters; and



and when the campaign happened to be long, the lands of the plebeians frequently lay uncultivated. Hence arose the necessity for the poor borrowing of the rich, and interest accumulating upon interest, and being added to the capital, at last swelled up to such a sum as involved the borrower in inextricable difficulties. This was an eternal source of quarrels and jealousies between the patricians and plebeians. In order, therefore, to put an end to it, the senate now decreed, that for the future, the soldiers who served in the foot should be paid by the public. The people, as might naturally be expected, were overjoyed at this indulgence. They ran in crowds to the senate-house. They kissed the hands of the senators as they came out, and called them their fathers; and all declared, that there was not now a citizen that would not be willing to shed the last drop of his blood in defence of such generous benefactors.

The tribunes, however, received the matter in a very different light. They said, "that the grant was by no means so advantageous as at first sight it might seem. For how was a fund to be raised for the payment of the soldiers, except by imposing a tax upon every individual? The senate, therefore, were liberal at other people's expence. That as to the rest, though others might approve of this innovation, the veteran soldiers never would, nor was it to be supposed, that after having served their full time at their own proper charge, they would patiently submit to be loaded with a tax for the payment of those who succeeded them in the service." By these specious arguments they persuaded a great number of the people to come over to their opinion; and when the law for levying the new duty was published, they loudly declared that, so far from obeying it themselves, they would readily undertake the defence of those who refused their compliance.

The senate, however, were determined to carry their decree into execution; and as the most effectual method of doing so, they began by setting an example to others, and were the first that sent in their quota of the tribute; and as there was at that time no silver coin, but all money consisted of brass or copper, which consequently was very heavy, and was called *as grave*, they were obliged to convey their contributions to the treasury in carts and other carriages. This naturally excited the attention of the public; and the people being ashamed to be backward in contributing to the formation of a fund, by which they themselves were to be chiefly benefited, were prevailed on at last to follow the example of the senators, and they accordingly paid in their respective shares

of the new duty, without regarding, in the least, the objections of their tribunes.

ABOUT two years after, pay was likewise established for the horse. Livy does not mention the amount of that pay. He only says, that it was three times as much as that of the foot. According to Polybius, the pay of the foot was two *oboli* a day, that is about three halfpence English, and the pay of the horse six *oboli*, or four-pence halfpenny. Provisions were very cheap in those days. A bushel of wheat was usually sold for no more than four *oboli*, or three-pence, and a bushel of barley for half that price. A bushel of wheat would maintain a soldier for eight days; so that two days pay would subsist him for more than a week.

BUT gratifying the soldiers was not the only object the senators had in view in granting them pay; they had a much more important and national point to carry. Before this institution, the hostilities of the Romans deserved the name of incursions rather than of wars, and were usually terminated by a single battle. These petty wars seldom lasted above twenty or thirty days at the utmost, the soldiers being unable, for want of pay, to keep the field longer. But when the senate saw themselves in a condition to keep a body of regular troops at all times on foot, they began to think they were capable of greater undertakings, and they now formed a regular plan for besieging Veii, one of the strongest and most popular towns of Italy, and which had long been considered as the rival of Rome itself.

BEFORE this place, accordingly, they now sat down; and after carrying on the siege for a long time with unremitted diligence, with various success, and under a succession of different commanders, they at last committed the conclusion of the blockade (for the siege was in the end turned into a blockade) to Camillus, whom at the same time they created dictator. This brave and experienced general, seeing the impossibility of taking the place by storm, contrived to run a mine under the walls into the heart of the town, so as to terminate it in one of the temples. He then commanded the soldiers in the trenches to make a general assault upon the walls from without; and while the besieged ran thither in order to defend them, the men concealed in the mine suddenly started up, and attacking the enemy in their rear, and, at the same time, forcing open the gates, they completed the reduction of the city. The siege lasted no less than ten years, in which respect it resembled the siege of Troy, as it did likewise in the circumstance of the town's being taken by a stratagem, and not by main force.



THE popularity, which Camillus had acquired by the taking of Veii, was considerably diminished by the vanity he displayed in celebrating his triumph. He had his chariot drawn by four milk-white horses ; and as this was a mark of distinction, that had never been assumed by any but the ancient kings of Rome, and had ever since been considered as peculiarly appropriated to Jupiter and Apollo, whose horses were supposed to be of this colour, it was generally said, that the dictator not only exalted himself above the condition of the citizen of a free state, but even pretended to an equality with the gods themselves.

As a description of men and manners is universally allowed to form a more interesting picture than a history of battles and sieges, which never fail to disgust us by their uniformity, we shall here mention a singular instance of patriotism, or rather of piety, exhibited by the Roman ladies upon this occasion. Camillus, it seems, previous to his taking Veii, had made a vow to Apollo, that if he succeeded in the enterprize, he would dedicate to him the tenth of the spoils taken in the place. A tenth of the moveables was easily collected, and was intended to be formed of massy gold, worthy of the god, to whom it was offered. But Camillus declared, that when he made the vow, he certainly included in it a tenth of the value of the city itself, and of all the territories belonging to it. This threw the people into considerable difficulties. They referred the matter to the decision of the pontiffs, who were all of the same opinion with Camillus. An estimate, therefore, was immediately made of the value of Veii, and of all the lands that depended upon it. The amount of that sum was taken out of the public treasury, and was carried to the military tribunes, who were directed to purchase gold with it, to be used in the present intended for Apollo.

As gold was then very scarce, and was not easily to be found, the ladies supplied the defect by generously offering all their gold and jewels. Their offer was accepted with those marks of gratitude, which it so richly deserved ; and by way of reward, they were indulged with many privileges. They were permitted to go to the sacrifices and games in chariots covered and suspended, called *pilenta* ; they were allowed to be carried in the streets, on festival-days and at other times, in open chariots, called *carpenta* ; and they were suffered to have funeral orations publicly spoken ; an honour, to which formerly none but men were entitled. The gold, which they sent to the treasury, was weighed, in order to its being in time refunded to them, and a great golden cup was made of it, and presented to Apollo. The Roman history has already

supplied us, and will still farther supply us with a like zeal in the ladies for the honour and interest of their country.

A GREAT plague, which happened about this time at Rome, gave rise to the institution of a new religious ceremony, which we mention as more descriptive of the spirit and genius of the people than military operations; for these last are common to all men, but the Romans excelled all other nations in their belief and acknowledgment of superior powers that direct and controul the affairs of the world. This ceremony was called *Lectisternium*, a word that is evidently derived from *lectos sternere*, to make beds. The custom at Rome was, in times of great danger, or great success, to decree solemn feasts to the gods, in order to implore their aid, or to render them public thanks for the protection they had afforded them. Officers, called *Triumviri*, and in process of time, when their number was augmented to seven, *Septemviri epulones*, presided at these feasts. According to the custom of those times, they prepared in the temples, around the tables, beds covered with magnificent carpets, cushions, and seats. The statues of the gods and goddesses, invited to the feast served up upon the table, were placed on them, and they were deemed to be present at and to partake of it. Valerius Maximus informs us, they vouchsafed to conform to human customs; and that, in this ceremony, Jupiter lay at length upon a bed, and Juno and Minerva sat on seats.

IN this manner the feast was celebrated on the present occasion in the name of the public; and it is the first time the *lectisternium* is mentioned. Private persons did the same during the eight days of the solemnity, and mutually entertained each other at their tables. Every person kept open house, and tables were spread, and feasts celebrated, at which every thing was in common, and every body, whether citizen or stranger, was equally welcome. Quarrels and law-suits were suspended, and prisoners were liberated during the whole entertainment; and it was afterwards thought unlawful to confine those who were considered as persons whom the gods had set at liberty.

THE next military operation of the Romans was against the Falisci, who, during the whole siege of Veii, had given them great disturbance. The management of this was given to Camillus, who finished it in a little time, with his usual good fortune. He routed the enemy in the open field; he took their camp, and having disposed of the plunder, he sent the money to the treasury. He then laid siege to their capital, Falerii, which would probably have made an obstinate resistance, had not its surrender been hastened by an event,  
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that has done more honour to Camillus than all his other victories. A schoolmaster, who had the care of the children belonging to the principal men in the city, having found means to decoy them into the Roman camp, offered to put them into the hands of Camillus, as the surest means of obliging the citizens to a speedy submission. Camillus, struck with the treachery of a wretch, whose duty it was to protect innocence, and not to betray it, for some time regarded him with a stern silence; but at last, finding words, "Execrable villain," cried the noble Roman, "offer thy abominable proposals to creatures like thyself, and not to me. True it is, that we have no express or formal alliance with the Falisci, but those ties, which nature has established between all men, both do and shall ever subsist between us. War has its rights as well as peace, and we know how to carry it on with no less justice than valour. We have taken up arms, not against an age that is spared even in captured cities, but against men armed like ourselves; men, who, without having received any injury from us, attacked the Roman camp at Veii. Thou, indeed, to the utmost of thy power, hast exceeded them in a new and different kind of crime: but as for me, I shall conquer here, as I did at Veii, by Roman arts, by courage, conduct, and perseverance." The traitor did not escape with this reprimand, sharp and severe as it undoubtedly was. Camillus ordered him to be stript, his hands to be tied behind him, and in that ignominious manner to be whipped back into the town by his own scholars.

THE Falisci, who had been inconsolable for the loss of their children, were so transported when they saw them return, that they instantly changed their sentiments with regard to the Romans, and from inveterate enemies, they in a moment became their cordial friends, or at least their professed admirers; and being determined to have a peace with such generous foes, they sent ambassadors, first to the camp, and afterwards to Rome. These being, at length, introduced into the senate, addressed themselves to the members in the following terms. "Illustrious fathers," said they, "conquered by you and your general, in a manner that can give no offence either to gods or men, we are come to surrender ourselves to you; being firmly persuaded, that we shall live much happier under your government than under our own. The event of this war has furnished the world with two excellent examples. You, fathers, have preferred justice in the midst of war to immediate conquest; and we, excited by that justice, which we admire, pre-

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sent you with the victory. We are now entirely at your devotion. Send persons to us to receive our arms, hostages, and the city, the gates of which are now thrown open. You will have no reason to be dissatisfied with our fidelity; nor shall we, we hope, have any just cause to repent of having submitted to your authority."

ONE would imagine, that the great merit of Camillus would have secured to him the love, and even the veneration of all his fellow-citizens; but it generally happens in republics, and indeed in most other governments, that superior worth excites the jealousy of those who have none; and this was now the case with Camillus. He was accused by two of the tribunes of having prevented the removal of the people to Veii; for some of the citizens, it seems, had formed a scheme for transplanting one half the inhabitants of Rome to that city, in order, as they said, to establish a second capital: but this design was resolutely opposed by Camillus, who thought, and justly thought, that the formation of a second capital might, in time, very probably prove the ruin of the first. He was likewise charged with having concealed, and appropriated to his own use, part of the plunder that had been taken at Veii. Camillus, unable to bear the disgrace of a public trial, after the signal service he had done his country, immediately went into voluntary exile, praying the gods, at the same time, as he was quitting the city, that the Romans might soon be made sensible of their injustice, and might soon stand in need of his assistance. Nor was it long before his wishes were gratified. For in a little time after the Romans were attacked by a more formidable enemy than any they had encountered. These were the Gauls, one of the most fierce and warlike people of antiquity.

GAUL, surnamed Comata, on account of the inhabitants wearing long hair, was originally divided into three parts, Aquitania, Celtic, and Belgic Gaul. The Gauls, of whom we are now speaking, were of the Celtic race. They were not the first that had come into Italy. In the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, about the 165th year of Rome, Ambigatus was sovereign of Celtic Gaul. That prince, finding his hereditary dominions overstocked with inhabitants, put Sigovesus and Bellovesus, two of his nephews, at the head of a great body of young men, whom he obliged to go in quest of new settlements; whether it was that this was a common practice in those times, as it afterwards was in the north down to the end of the tenth century, or that Ambigatus had recourse to this expedient of military colonies, in order to get rid of a set of restless, ardent, and ungovernable spirits.

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WHATEVER was his motive, the fact is certain, and the leaders decided by lot the regions into which they were to go. Chance sent Sigoveſus over the Rhine, who, taking his way through the Hercinian, now called the Black Forest, opened himſelf a paſſage by force of arms, and ſeized Bohemia and the adjacent provinces. Belloveſus turned towards Italy; having paſſed the Alps, and carried along with him the people of many of the petty ſtates, through which he paſſed, he at laſt fixed himſelf and his followers in that fine country which goes by the name of Lombardy. There they are ſaid to have built many cities, ſuch as Milan, Verona, Padua, Breſcia, Como, and other towns that ſubſiſt to this day.

THE Gauls, however, that now attacked Rome, appear to have been a freſh ſwarm, directly from their original habitations. They are ſuppoſed to have been invited into Italy by one Aruns, a native of Cluſium, who took this method of avenging an injury he had received from his fellow-citizens; and the temptation he held out to them, in order to induce them to comply with his requeſt, is ſaid to have been the delicious flavour of the Italian wines, which they had never taſted before, and of ſome of which he now made them a preſent.

THE Gauls were employed in the ſiege of Cluſium; and the inhabitants, apprehenſive of falling into the hands of theſe barbarians, implored the aſſiſtance of the Romans, though they had no other reaſon to expect it, than that, in the laſt war, they had not taken arms in favour of the Veians, as moſt of the other ſtates of Tuſcany had done. The ſenate, who had no particular alliance with the Cluſians, deemed it improper to proceed to extremities in ſupport of their cauſe. They contented themſelves ſimply with ſending an embaſſy of three young patricians, all of them brothers, and of the Fabian family, to eſſect an accommodation between the Cluſians and the Gauls. The ambaffadors, upon arriving at the Gauliſh camp, were introduced into the council. They there offered the mediation of Rome, and demanded of Brennus, the king or leader of the Gauls, what right a ſtrange people, as they were, could have to Tuſcany, or whether the Cluſians in particular had done them any wrong? Brennus answered proudly, that his right lay in his ſword, and that all things belonged to the brave; but that, without having recourſe to this primitive law of nature, he had juſt cauſe of complaint againſt the Cluſians, who having more land than they could cultivate, had reſuſed to give him that which they now left untilld. “They do us,” added he, “the ſame wrong that was formerly done to you by the Sabines, the Albans, the Fidenates, the Equi, the Volſci; and

and your other neighbours, whom you have either deprived, or are endeavouring to deprive, of part of their territory. Therefore cease to interpose in behalf of the Clusians, lest you should teach us by your example to espouse the cause of those whom you have stripped of their ancient inheritance."

THE ambassadors were enraged at this haughty answer, but they dissembled their resentment for the present. They only begged permission to go into town, in order, as they said, to have a conference with the magistrates, and to try, if possible, to bring about a peace. This favour was readily granted; but they had no sooner entered the town, than, instead of acting agreeably to their character and to the promise they had made, they put themselves at the head of the inhabitants, and made a furious sally upon the besiegers: one of them even killed a Gaul officer of great distinction, and was observed in the very act of stripping him of his armour.

BRENNUS, incensed at this daring violation of the law of nations, sent deputies to the senate, to demand satisfaction, and particularly that the Fabii should be put into his hands; but finding it impossible to get any redress, and hearing, on the contrary, that instead of punishing the delinquents as they deserved, the people had advanced them to the rank of military tribunes, he turned the whole bent of his resentment, from the ambassadors, upon the Romans themselves, on whom he was determined to take a signal vengeance. With this view, he broke up the siege of Clusium, and began his march directly for Rome; and coming up with the Roman army on the banks of the river Allia, about four leagues from the city, he obtained over it an easy and a complete victory.

HIS troops were not only more hardy and warlike, but, what may seem strange in barbarians, they were even better disciplined. Besides, they were much more numerous than the Romans, amounting to about seventy thousand men, whereas the latter did not exceed forty thousand in all. Add to this, that they had much more confidence in their general, who, barbarian as he was, appears to have been a very able commander, whilst the Romans were distracted by the multiplicity of opinions that prevailed among their leaders, who were no less than six in number, for, instead of consuls, the people were now under the direction of military tribunes. The action at Allia, therefore, was not so much a battle as a rout: the two wings of the army fled at the very first charge; and the main body, being thus deserted and left to itself, was easily overpowered.

On receiving the news of this defeat, Rome was filled with terror and consternation; and the senate seeing the impossibility



lity of defending the city, advised the younger and more active part of the inhabitants to take possession of the capitol, and there to hold out to the last extremity. As to the old men, women, and children, they endeavoured to find shelter in the best manner they could, in the neighbouring towns and villages. Only eighty of the most ancient senators and priests, seized with a religious enthusiasm, resolved to devote their lives as a sacrifice to atone for the sins of the people, and clothed in their robes of ceremony, they placed themselves in the forum on their ivory chairs. The Gauls in the mean time were so eager to enjoy the first fruits of their victory, that they lost all the real advantages they might have derived from it. They spent two whole days in dividing among them the spoils they had taken, and thereby gave the Romans sufficient leisure to provide at least for the defence of the capitol.

On the third day after the battle they resumed their march, and upon approaching Rome, were greatly surprized to find the gates wide open, and the walls entirely defenceless. This made them at first apprehensive of some stratagem; but after having taken the necessary precautions, they entered the city, and advancing into the forum, beheld there the ancient senators sitting in due order, observing a profound silence, unmoved and undaunted. The splendid habits, the majestic gravity, and the venerable looks of these old men, awed the barbarous enemy into reverence: they mistook them for the tutelary deities of the place, and began to offer them blind veneration, till one, more forward than the rest, put forth his hand and stroked the beard of Papyrius. This was an insult the noble Roman could not bear; he therefore lifted up his ivory sceptre, and struck the soldier on the head, and the other, in revenge, run him through the body. This was a signal for a general slaughter. All the other senators were put to the sword, as was likewise every person of inferior rank that fell in the way of these fierce invaders.

BRENNUS then invested the capitol, and summoned those that were shut up in it to surrender; but finding they were neither to be intimidated by his threats, nor cajoled by his promises, he turned the siege into a blockade; and in the mean time, to punish the Romans for their obstinate resistance, he determined to wreak his vengeance upon the city itself: his soldiers accordingly, by his command, set fire to the houses, demolished the temples and other public edifices, and even razed the walls to the foundation; and thus in a few days, instead of a city already famous throughout all Italy, nothing was to be seen but a few little hills covered with ruins, and a wide waste, in which Brennus encamped that part of his

army which invested the capitol: the other part was sent out to forage.

THESE troops, who thought that they kept the whole country in subjection by the mere terror of their arms, preserved neither order nor discipline in the excursions they made. The soldiers rambled singly, or in very small parties, in quest of plunder; and even those, that kept together in a body, spent whole days in riot and debauch. They never imagined they had any other enemies to contend with than those that were shut in the capitol; but in this respect they were egregiously deceived. Camillus, who, upon his exile, had retired to Ardea, was now, for the first time, informed of these events; and more afflicted at the calamities of his country than at his own misfortunes, he determined to avenge her upon her barbarous foes. With this view he repaired to the assembly of the Ardeates, which was now convened for the purpose of concerting measures to oppose the Gauls, who were advancing, by rapid marches, towards their capital, and being admitted, he addressed the members in the following terms.

“PEOPLE of Ardea,” said he, “always my friends, and now my fellow citizens, if you see me appear in this place contrary to my custom, do not suppose I have forgot my present situation; but the danger which threatens us, obliges every one to exert himself to the utmost, in order to guard against it. And, indeed, when will it be in my power to requite the important services you have done me, if it be not at present; and in what can I be of use to you, if not in war? It was by that I supported my credit in my own country. After having been, for a series of years, successful in a military capacity, my ungrateful fellow-citizens expelled me during peace.

“As for you, Ardeates, fortune now presents you with the finest opportunity of expressing your gratitude to the Roman people for all the favours they have done you (of which your own recollection renders it unnecessary for me to give you a recital), and, at the same time, of acquiring to yourselves immortal glory by the defeat of the common enemy. The Gauls, who are advancing hither in large bodies, are a nation, to whom nature has given greatness of size, and impetuosity of courage, rather than strength of constitution and vigour of mind; and in consequence they carry with them more terror than force to battle. Their late victory itself, and their present behaviour, are a proof of what I say. If they defeated the Romans at the battle of Alia, their success upon that occasion is not so much to be ascribed to their bravery, as to fortune, who then displayed the utmost extent of her power. But what have they done since? They have, indeed, made themselves



themselves masters of a city, whose gates stood open to receive them. But a handful of soldiers, who shut themselves up in the capitol, now set them at defiance. Disgusted with the resistance they meet with, they already think the siege too long and tedious: they remove from it, and disperse themselves over the country. Full of meat and drink, with which they gorge themselves, as soon as night comes on, they lie down upon the earth like beasts, along the sides of rivers, without entrenchments, without guards or sentinels; and their late success serves only to render them more careless than usual. If you would secure your city against their attacks, and your whole country from falling into their hands, take arms in the middle of the night, and follow me, not to a battle, but to a certain slaughter. If I do not put the Gauls, fast locked in the arms of sleep, into your hands, to be butchered at pleasure, I consent to be treated at Ardea as I have been at Rome."

THE Ardeates, convinced of the abilities of Camillus, who had never failed in any of his military enterprizes, readily agreed to follow his directions; and accordingly setting out in the dead of night under his conduct, and advancing to the camp of the enemy, who had returned to it a little before laden with spoil, and in consequence of their usual debauch had fallen into a deep sleep, they suddenly fell upon them, and put almost every one of them to the sword.

THE news of this victory was soon carried into the neighbouring cities where the fugitive Romans had taken shelter, and who, encouraged, as they were, by this dawn of success, began to flock together, and in a little time composed a considerable army. They only wanted a leader to conduct them, and it was hardly possible they could hesitate in their choice. They unanimously sent deputies to Camillus, intreating him to assume the supreme command, and promising to obey him with the most implicit submission. Camillus at first excused himself from accepting their offer on account of his being an exile. "Rome," replied the deputies, "is now no more, and we can no longer reckon ourselves inhabitants of a city that is totally destroyed. You see before you the wretched remains of a state that hath flourished for above three centuries. One single battle has determined its fate and ours, and we have now no other asylum left but in your camp."

CAMILLUS was affected with these arguments, but still he refused to accept of their offer, until it had received the sanction of the senate, which were shut up in the capitol. It appeared, however, to be extremely difficult, if not absolutely impossible, for any one to find entrance into that fortress, surrounded, as it was, on all sides by enemies, who were mas-  
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ters of the city. At last a young Roman, named Pontius Cominius, undertook the important but dangerous task. Supported by corks he swam down the Tiber, and came to the gate *Carmentalis*, where the silence was greatest, and on the side of which the ascent to the capitol was most difficult. He clambered up the rock without being perceived, and arrived, though with great danger, at the post of the first sentinels. Having told them his name, he was received with joy, and carried to the magistrates. The senate was immediately assembled, and Camillus declared dictator of Rome. Pontius returned the same way he went, and with the like good fortune, and carried back the decree of the senate to Camillus and the Romans.

In the mean time the capitol was exposed to the most imminent danger. Whether it was, that the Gauls had perceived some traces of a man's foot in the way by which Cominius had got up, or had of themselves discovered that the rock was not so inaccessible as was commonly supposed, they undertook to ascend it. At midnight they began to climb up it in files, laying hold of the herbage and bushes that grew upon its sides, and assisting one another with their hands as much as possible. In this manner they got to the wall, which was not very high on that side, as the steepness of the rock rendered any additional fortifications the less necessary. They had been able to ascend with so much silence, that they not only did not awake the sentinels, but not even the dogs, animals that are so apt to stir at the least noise. They did not, however, elude the quick hearing of the sacred geese that were kept in the temple of Juno. Manlius, a person of consular dignity and of acknowledged bravery, awakened by the gabbling of these fowls, and the beating of their wings, was the first that gave the alarm. Whilst others were getting up, he ran to the wall, and with his buckler beat down one of the barbarians, who had already laid hold of the battlements, in order to enter the citadel; and he threw him down the precipice. His fall occasioned that of others who were following him. The Romans, with stones and darts, drove all the rest from the top of the rock to the bottom. In this manner the capitol was saved.

Next morning the assembly was convened; and Manlius received the praises he so well deserved. Both officers and soldiers thought it their duty to give him a proof of their gratitude, and each made him a present of one day's provisions, that is, of half a pound of wheat, and half a pint of wine; a reward small indeed in itself, but which the severe famine, with which they were oppressed, rendered very considerable.

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THE next object that engaged the attention of the assembly, was the punishment of the sentinels, through whose negligence the enemy had been suffered to ascend to the capitol. Sulpicius, who commanded in chief, condemned them all to die, according to the rigour of military discipline; but the soldiers concurring in throwing the whole blame upon one person, Sulpicius was pleased to spare the rest, and ordered the guilty sentinel to be thrown from the top of the Tarpeian rock. The posts from thenceforth were more strictly guarded.

MEAN while the besiegers, as well as the besieged, were reduced to such difficulties for want of provisions, that they were ready to listen to any tolerable terms for affecting a peace. The senate therefore empowered the military tribunes to enter into a negociation for this purpose; and, after some dispute, a treaty was concluded upon the following condition, that the Gauls, upon receiving a thousand pounds weight of gold, should withdraw their troops from Rome, and from all its territories. The gold, accordingly, was immediately brought forth; but upon their beginning to weigh it, the Gauls endeavoured to make use of false weights. The Romans exclaimed against this act of injustice; upon which Brennus cast his sword and belt into the scale, crying out at the same time, with an insulting air, *Væ victis*, “Woe to the vanquished.” By this answer the Romans plainly saw that they had no other choice left than to submit to the conquerors, and that it was in vain to remonstrate against any conditions which he should think proper to impose. But while they were thus debating about weighing the money, they received intelligence, that Camillus, their old general, was at the head of a numerous army, hastening to their relief, and entering the gates of Rome. In fact, Camillus soon after appeared, and entering the place of controversy with the air of a man that was more likely to prescribe terms himself than to listen to those that were dictated by an enemy, asked the cause of the contest. He was no sooner informed of it, than he ordered the gold to be taken up and carried back to the capitol: “For,” added he, addressing himself to Brennus, “it has ever been the custom of us Romans to ransom our country with steel and not with gold.” Brennus, surprized at this haughty language, which he had never heard before from any Roman, represented the injustice of contravening the terms of a treaty that was already concluded. “I am,” said Camillus, “dictator of Rome, and nobody has a right to conclude any treaty without my authority.” The dispute growing hot, the two armies came to an engagement, when, after a short,

a short, but obstinate battle, the Gauls were defeated, and such a slaughter made of them, that the Roman territories were soon cleared of their formidable invaders. Thus, by the bravery of one man, was Rome delivered of its enemies, after they had been in possession of it for the space of seven months; for they entered it on the fifteenth of July, and were expelled from it about the thirteenth of February.

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## C H A P. XIV.

*From the Burning of ROME by the GAULS to the Beginning of the FIRST PUNIC WAR.*

[AN. ROM. 365.]

THE first care of the Romans, after the expulsion of the Gauls, was the rebuilding of the city, destroyed as it now entirely was, the houses being demolished, and the walls razed to the ground; so that a man might in vain have searched for Rome even in the midst of Rome itself. In so general a desolation, the tribunes of the people renewed their old proposal of settling at Veii, and insisted that the whole body of Romans should remove thither, and make that the seat of the empire. They represented in all public assemblies the extreme misery of the people, escaped, as it were, naked from a shipwreck, and exhausted by so many misfortunes, without strength, without money, and totally unable to rebuild a whole city, which had nothing of it left but the ruins, while Veii offered to them a place well fortified both by art and nature, commodious houses, a wholesome air, a fruitful soil, and extensive territory.

THE senate, who considered it as a point of religion never to leave Rome, were extremely averse to this wild project; but thinking it might be dangerous to irritate the people amidst their present calamities, they confined themselves solely to prayers and entreaties. Some of the most illustrious patricians shewed the people the tombs of their ancestors; and others put them in mind of the temples consecrated by Romulus and Numa, not forgetting the man's head (*caput* in Latin) that had been dug up in forming the foundation of the capitol, and which, according to the interpretation of the augurs, imported, that Rome should one day become the capital of the world.

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CAMILLUS, who alone had more credit and authority than all the rest of the senate, asked some why they had shut themselves up in the capitol; and of others he demanded, why they had fought in the open field with so much bravery to recover Rome, if they were determined to abandon it?—"Consider," said he, "that by retiring to Veii, you will assume the name of a conquered people, and lose that of Roman, together with the glorious destiny which the gods have decreed to it, and which, with your name, will go to the first barbarians that shall get possession of the capitol, and who, by this change, may in time become your masters, and even your tyrants."

THESE arguments made a deep impression upon the minds of a lofty and high-spirited people, who preferred the prospect of future empire to the possession of present advantages; and a word spoken by chance added great force to the speech of Camillus, and finally fixed the resolutions of the Romans. The senate was now extraordinarily convened in order to deliberate upon this very business. L. Lucretius was to give his opinion first. Just as that senator was beginning to speak, the captain, that commanded the guard, was heard to call to the standard-bearer to stop there, and plant his ensign: "For," added the officer, "here we must stay." This voice being heard at a time when the minds of men were in a state of uncertainty, appeared to come from heaven, and Lucretius laying hold of the expression, "I accept," cried he, "the omen, and adore the gods who have given us so salutary an advice." The whole senate approved of the construction he had put upon it, and the news being spread abroad occasioned an entire change in the sentiments of the people; "so much greater effect," say the historians, "had an accidental word, when turned into an omen, than could have been produced by the most powerful arguments." It is more than probable, however, that this word was not the effect of chance, but rather of previous design, formed between the officer and the senate; and indeed it is natural to think, that all the other omens of the Romans owed their origin to causes of a similar nature. Be this as it will, certain it is, that from this time forward the people thought no more of removing to Veii, but applied themselves to the rebuilding of Rome with such zeal and activity, that, in less than a twelvemonth, the whole of it was actually rebuilt from the meanest house to the most superb edifice. There was, indeed, this material difference between the old and the new town, that whereas in the former the *cloacæ*, or common sewers, ran through the middle of the streets and squares; in  
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the latter they frequently ran below the houses, which must have rendered them very unhealthful.

To reward Manlius for the spirit and patriotism he had shewn in defence of the capitol, the senate assigned him a house on the very same rock on which that fortress stood; and to punish Fabius for the gross violation he had committed of the law of nations, with respect to the Gauls, and the grievous calamities he had thereby brought upon his country, they summoned him to answer for his conduct before an assembly of the people; and that patrician, afraid to wait the issue of a public trial, thought proper, by a voluntary death, to anticipate the sentence that would probably have been passed upon him.

BUT the fate of these two men shewed, that, in a republic, jealous of its liberty, excessive popularity may sometimes prove dangerous to its possessor, as even the greatest popular hatred. Manlius, from being the favourite of the people, wanted to be something more; he wanted to be their master; he wanted to raise himself to the sovereignty of that state, which he had so signally served; and the arts he employed for that purpose grew at length to be so open and so notorious, that he was called to an account for his conduct before an assembly of the people, where the proofs of his guilt were either found, or were supposed to be so indisputable, that he was condemned to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock, which he accordingly was; so that the same spot, which had formerly served as the theatre of his glory, now became the scene of his disgrace and punishment. Hence it appears, that, among the Romans, no service, which a man could perform to his country, was sufficient to atone for the guilt of attempting to destroy its liberties. During all these disturbances, Camillus was the man that possessed the chief authority either as dictator or as military tribune; and in discharging the duties of these important offices, he not only brought Manlius to justice, but gained repeated victories over such of the petty states, bordering upon Rome, as, taking advantage of her late misfortunes, had declared war against her.

NOR were these the only services he did his country. He conducted a war against the Volsci and Tusculans, in a manner equally honourable to himself and advantageous to the public. He rescued his colleague, Furius, from an ambuscade, into which, by his own imprudence, he had fallen; and he obtained over the Volsci a complete victory. He then advanced into the country of the Tusculans, many of whom had been unwarily persuaded to join the Volsci; and he there met  
with



with a reception, which no enemy before perhaps had ever experienced. Upon entering their territories, he was surprised to see, that the people neither quitted their habitations, nor desisted from cultivating their lands: on the contrary, many of them, dressed in the robes of peace, came out to meet him, and furnished him and his army with plenty of provisions. Having pitched his camp at the gates of the city, he desired to be informed whether the same tranquillity reigned within the walls as without; and being answered in the affirmative, he entered the town. All the houses and shops were open, and the different artificers employed in their usual occupations: the schools resounded with the noise of children at their books; the streets were full of people going backwards and forwards about their business: there was no sign of terror, nor even of amazement: not the least vestige of war was to be discovered; but every thing, on the other hand, was perfectly quiet and pacific.

CAMILLUS, astonished at so unusual a sight, and totally disarmed by the enemy's resignation, ordered the public assembly to be immediately summoned. Then entering it, "Tusculans," said he, "you are the only people, who till now have found out the true method of appeasing the indignation of the Romans. Go to Rome, and apply to the senate. They will determine, whether your present repentance is not more than sufficient to atone for the guilt of your former conduct. I shall not anticipate a favour which you ought to receive only from the republic. All that I can grant you, is the liberty of presenting your petition, and soliciting a pardon; and the senate will return you such an answer, as to them may appear most proper."

WHEN the Tusculans arrived at Rome, and were introduced into the senate, their dictator addressed himself to that venerable body in the following terms. "The condition, fathers, in which you now see us is the same as that in which we went to meet your general and your army. You have declared war against us, and entered our territories, without our having armed in any other manner than we are at this instant. Such has been, and such will always be our behaviour, except when we receive your orders to take arms, and employ them for your service. We ought to return thanks to your general and your soldiers, for believing their eyes rather than their ears, and for not having treated those as enemies who made no resistance. We come to demand that peace, which we have observed towards you, and to desire that you would carry the war into countries, where it ought more properly to be made. As for us, if we are to feel the  
force

force of your arms, we will feel it without opposition. Such is our firm resolution; and may it only prove happy and fortunate to us in proportion to the sincerity with which we declare it. With regard to the crimes with which we are charged, and which had drawn upon us the weight of your resentment, though it be unnecessary to deny that in words which is so plainly contradicted by actions, yet, supposing the facts to be literally true, we believe we had much better frankly confess, after having so heartily expressed our repentance. You may safely suffer offences to be committed against you, while those who commit them have so high an opinion of you, as always to think you entitled to such a satisfaction." In consequence of this submission, the Tusculans were not only indulged with a peace, but were even honoured with the freedom of the city.

In a little time after, Camillus obtained a triumph over a more formidable enemy than the Volsci, and that was over the Gauls, who had now again invaded the Roman territories, and were advancing, by hasty marches, towards the city itself. In this emergency, Camillus was raised for the fifth time to the office of dictator, and began to make preparations for opposing so terrible a foe. As he knew by experience, that the principal force of the Gauls consisted in their swords, which they used like barbarians, that is, heavily and clumsily, cutting down right before them, he caused most of his troops to be armed with helmets of well-polished steel, so as to enable them to break the swords of the enemy, or to ward off the blows. He likewise caused his men to fortify their bucklers with strong hoops of iron fixed round their edges, so as to render them more capable of resisting the blows of the adversary; and at the same time he taught to make use of long javelins, which being thrust under the swords of the barbarians, either totally prevented, or considerably weakened their blows.

The Gauls had now arrived at the banks of the river Anio with an army so heavily laden with plunder, that it was hardly able to move. Camillus took the field at the head of his troops, and encamped upon a hill of easy descent, with many hollow places in its sides, so that he was able to conceal there the greatest part of his men, while those that appeared, being posted upon eminences, might naturally be thought to have retired thither through fear. To confirm the Gauls in this vain opinion, he purposely abstained from giving them any check, even when they advanced to the bottom of the hill to forage; on the contrary, he kept his men close within their camp, which he had previously taken care to surround with entrenchments.



ments. When he saw most of the enemy dispersed in foraging, and those that remained behind so gorged with meat, and intoxicated with wine, that they were hardly able to stand, and much less to fight, he detached his light troops before day to insult them, and soon after marched down his heavy-armed infantry into the plain, where he drew them in order of battle. They amounted, on the whole, to a numerous army, and were eager for an engagement; contrary to the fond expectation of the barbarians, who believed, that they only formed an handful of men, and were besides struck with terror.

THE first thing that alarmed the Gauls, was the seeing the Romans have the courage to advance and attack them without necessity, and without being previously challenged to engage. The light troops charged them before they had time to form, or draw up in order, and pushing them with vigour, compelled them to fight in the utmost confusion. Camillus, with the main body of his army, fell furiously upon them. The Gauls, with their usual courage, advanced to meet him with their swords lifted up. But the Romans stopped them with their long javelins; and as their own bodies were almost entirely covered with iron, the swords of the enemy had very little effect. For as the temper of their weapons was soft, the iron not having been sufficiently hammered, this was a natural and a necessary consequence; besides which, their bucklers being stuck full of javelins, became at length so heavy, that they were no longer able to support them; wherefore throwing them aside, they began to rush furiously upon the Romans, who taking advantage of their present defenceless condition, committed terrible havock among them. The first ranks they cut entirely to pieces, and put all the rest to such a total rout, that they were glad to fly different ways over the plain, without any thoughts of returning to their camp, to which indeed they had very few temptations, as, from a vain confidence of victory, they had neglected to secure it.

THIS battle is said to have been fought twenty-three years after the taking and burning of Rome, and was the first circumstance that encouraged the Romans boldly to face the Gauls, whom they had hitherto been accustomed to regard with terror. So great, in fact, was their dread of them, that in the law which excused priests from going to war, wars with the Gauls were particularly excepted. And Cicero says, that from the beginning of the empire, Gaul had always appeared in the eyes of the judicious, to be the formidable enemy of Rome; and that it was not without the peculiar providence of the gods, that nature had fortified Italy with the Alps as with an insuperable barrier:

rier: "for," adds he, "had that passage been left open to the innumerable multitudes of so barbarous a nation, Rome would never have become the capital of the greatest empire in the world."

THIS victory over the Gauls was the last military exploit of Camillus; but he had a terrible conflict still to maintain about one of the civil institutions of Rome. This was the admitting the plebeians to a share of the consulship. The people had long aspired to the possession of this dignity. A law had been proposed for this very purpose at the time when the plebeians obtained the right of intermarrying with the patricians. The project, however, was then abandoned: but it was now resumed with greater ardour than ever, and, after a long and a furious contest, was at last brought to bear. The senate were persuaded to give their consent, as the only possible means of avoiding a civil war, which must otherwise have been the consequence. L. Sextius was the first plebeian consul; and he might boast, with more reason than Cicero afterwards did, of having broke down those barriers which the nobility had raised against the advancement of the people to the first honours of the state, and of having rendered the consulship no less accessible to merit than to birth. The people, in return for so great a favour, gave the senate permission to create a new magistrate to administer justice in the city, who was called prætor. Thus was part of the consul's functions dismembered from his office, and now erected into a new dignity, his military employments frequently rendering it impossible for him to discharge properly the civil branch of his duty. The senate also acquired about this time a second magistracy, namely the curule ædileship. There were already two ædiles, elected out of the body of the people. These refusing to make preparations for celebrating the great games, which Camillus had vowed in consequence of one of his victories, the patricians laid hold of so favourable an opportunity of establishing a new dignity peculiar to their order.

ABOUT this time Rome was afflicted with a terrible plague, and to remove it, various methods, and all of them equally ridiculous, were employed. One of them was the repetition of the Lætiæsternium, which we have already mentioned. Another was the introduction of the games called *Ludi Scenici*, or theatrical representations, which at first were of a very rude and simple nature, but were afterwards carried to such a degree of extravagance, that, according to Livy, the revenues of a sovereign prince would hardly be sufficient to defray the expence.



A THIRD was, the ceremony of driving a nail into a temple : this was called *clavum figere*. The Volscinians, a people of Etruria, are said to have practised this custom of old, in order to mark the number of their years, probably before they had learned the use of figures or the art of cyphering, and from them it is supposed to have been borrowed by the Romans. The nail was called *clavis annalis*. It was to be driven on the ides of September, that is, on the thirteenth of the month, by the principal magistrate of the republic. On the present occasion, a dictator was expressly created on purpose ; and he drove the nail in the right side of the temple of Jupiter. We are apt to laugh at the absurdities of former times : future times will no doubt laugh at ours.

THE scheme of raising plebeians to the consulship is said to have been forwarded by the vanity of a woman. Two sisters, it seems, of the name of Fabia, had been married, the one to a patrician, the other to a plebeian. The latter being mortified at the superior honour she saw paid to her sister beyond what were shewn to herself, fell into a deep melancholy, the cause of which she endeavoured to conceal. Her father, however, and her husband, who were both of them men of great influence, and loved her tenderly, at last extorted the secret from her ; and from that time forward they never ceased exerting their utmost interest until they had destroyed this badge of distinction between the higher and the lower orders of the state. So true it is, if the report be well founded, that great events are sometimes produced, at least are facilitated, by little causes !

THE office of prætor, which the patricians now obtained, however seemingly inconsiderable at first, grew at length to be one of the most important dignities of the state. There was at first but one prætor ; but afterwards another was appointed. The one was called *prætor urbanus* ; the other, *prætor peregrinus*. The former decided causes between citizen and citizen ; the latter determined controversies between citizens and strangers. The usual punishments inflicted by the Romans, were fines, banishment, and death. With whatever severity they prosecute a citizen, who had incurred their displeasure by having opposed their real or supposed interest, they were extremely gentle in the sentences they passed. The word banishment was not expressly mentioned either in their laws or trials. The person condemned was only “ prohibited the use of fire and water,” which necessarily implied banishment. The people suffered those that were accused to prevent judgment, even when it extended to death, and to exempt themselves from it, by retiring into voluntary exile.

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For this reason Cicero says, that exile was not a punishment, but a post, an asylum, where the accused found security against the rigour of the laws. Some cases, however, were excepted; those particularly, in which the public liberty was endangered: for then the people gave full scope to their severity, and lent a deaf ear to every argument that could be urged for mercy.

CRIMINALS were put to death either by cutting off their heads, with the axes carried by the lictors; by crucifixion, which was the punishment of slaves; by strangling; or by being thrown from the top of the Tarpeian rock. In the two first cases, the prisoner was always scourged with rods before execution.

As to those condemned to be strangled, they were executed within the prison. Officers, called triumviri, had the general direction of the prisons, and took care that every thing should be conducted in them in a proper manner. Valerius Maximus relates a very curious fact upon this particular. A woman of illustrious birth had been condemned, probably either for adultery or poisoning. The prætor delivered her up to the triumvir, who caused her to be carried to prison, in order to her being put to death. The gaoler, who was to execute her, took compassion upon her, and could not find in his heart to put the sentence in force. He therefore chose to let her die of hunger. Besides this, he suffered her daughter to see her in prison, taking care, however, that she brought her nothing to eat. As this continued many days, he was surprized that the prisoner lived so long; and suspecting the daughter, he narrowly watched her, when he plainly saw that she nourished her mother with her own milk. Amazed at so pious, and at the same time so ingenious a contrivance, he told the fact to the triumvir, and the triumvir to the prætor, who believed the matter merited relating to the assembly of the people. The criminal was pardoned: a decree was passed that the mother and daughter should be maintained for the rest of their lives at the public expence, and that a temple sacred to piety should be erected near the prison. This is usually called the Roman Charity.

MANLIUS, who had been appointed dictator for the purpose of driving a nail into the temple of Jupiter, had no sooner resigned his office, than he was accused, by Pomponius, one of the tribunes of the people, of having exercised his power with too great severity in levying troops to recruit the army. He was likewise charged with having acted a very unnatural part towards his own son, Manlius, whom he had confined in the country among his slaves, and condemned to laborious and servile employments, merely because he had an impediment



ment in his speech. But the young man, however deficient in elocution, soon shewed that he was by no means wanting in those sentiments of filial piety, which constitute at once the first duty and the greatest glory of a child. Hearing that his father was exposed to danger on account of his behaviour towards him, he found means, in a little time, to deliver him from it by the following bold and spirited action. Arming himself only with a dagger, he repaired privately to Rome; and having got admission into the house of the tribune, he threatened to plunge the weapon instantly in his bosom, unless he would promise to put an end to the prosecution against his father. The tribune, having no other choice left, than immediate death or a ready compliance with Manlius's demand, wisely embraced the latter part of the alternative. The people approved of the step he had taken; the prosecution was quashed; and the action of Manlius, however irregular, was not only excused on account of the pious motive from which it proceeded, but it was even rewarded; he was created tribune of a legion, an office somewhat similar to that of a modern colonel.

SALLUST somewhere observes, that the success of the Roman arms, and the grandeur of the Roman state, were not so much owing to the superiority of the people in general over those of other nations, as to the extraordinary qualities of a few great men, who in courage, magnanimity, and particularly in love to their country, excelled all the world; and who, in cases of necessity, infused these virtues into the breasts of their compatriots, so as to render them triumphant over all their enemies. With these men it was no uncommon thing to devote themselves to certain death for the real or supposed interest, or even for the honour of their country. Of this there occurred a remarkable instance at this period. The earth happening to open in the forum, made so deep a gulph, that it could not be filled up, though great quantities of rubbish were thrown into it. The augurs were therefore consulted, and these ministers of religion declared, that the gulph would never close till the most precious things in Rome were cast into it. The people, for some time, were at a loss to determine what could be meant by the most precious things in Rome, till M. Curtius, a young man, remarkable for his valour, came into the forum on horseback, and, clad in complete armour, said, that nothing surely could be more precious to the Romans than courage and arms; that he was therefore resolved to devote himself to the infernal gods for the service of his country; and accordingly having gone through the necessary ceremonies

ceremonies, he boldly leapt with his horse and armour into the gulph, which, the historians tell us, immediately closed.

Soon after Manlius, who had distinguished himself so remarkably by his filial piety, gave a no less striking proof of his military prowess. For the Gauls having again invaded the Roman territories, and one of the most huge and bulky of that people having advanced between the two armies, and challenged any single Roman to engage him, no one, for some time, had the courage to meet him, till Manlius, having obtained the permission of the dictator, who commanded the Roman army, stepped forward to oppose the insulting foe; and having dexterously contrived to elude the first blow of his adversary, and immediately closed in with him, he stabbed him in the belly, and having thus laid him dead at his feet, he took off the golden chain that surrounded his neck, and put it round his own, whence he acquired, and transmitted to his posterity, the surname of *Torquatus*, from the Latin word *Torques*, which signifies a chain.

A similar honour was, in a little time, gained by a young officer, named Valerius, who believed himself no less capable of achieving such a feat than Manlius. For in another battle with the Gauls, and upon occasion of another challenge being given, Valerius accepted of it, and with the like good fortune, though the glory of his victory is said to have been diminished by the evident interposition of heaven in his favour. For if fame may be credited, which generally delights in adding the marvellous to the great, as soon as the Roman came to blows with his adversary, a crow on a sudden perched upon his helmet, and always kept its head turned towards the Gaul. Valerius, considering this as a happy omen, already anticipated the victory in his mind, and consequently exerted himself with double valour. The crow not only kept her place, but, during the combat, rose upon her wings, attacked the face of the Gaul with her beak and claws, and did not entirely quit him till, terrified with a prodigy that deprived him at once of the use of his eyes and his presence of mind, he was laid dead upon the spot. She then disappeared, and was never seen more. From this circumstance, the victor received the surname of *Corvus*, which signifies a crow.

VALERIUS, however, appeared to have been possessed of such native courage, as did not stand in need of any supernatural aid. For in a war, which soon after broke out between the Romans and the Samnites, he conducted himself with such spirit and prudence, as foiled all the attempts of the enemy; he even gained some signal advantages over them; while his colleague, Cornelius, the other consul, brought the army  
which



which he commanded, into such a difficult situation, as exposed it to the danger of being entirely cut off, which it probably would have been, had not Decius, a legionary tribune, luckily got possession of a rising ground on the other side of the enemy, and attacking them in the rear, while the consul attacked them in front, thereby contributed to put them to a total rout.

THE Samnites, though repeatedly defeated, were not yet entirely overcome. They still continued to make incursions into the territories of the Romans, and much more into those of their allies. To check these inroads, the senate sent a body of troops to pass the winter at Capua. This, however, was a measure, that had like to have been attended with the most fatal consequences. Capua was, even then, remarkable for the luxury of its inhabitants; and the manners of the Romans being not only softened, but even corrupted by the example of the citizens, unhappily led them into the formation of a plot, one of the blackest and most detestable that could be conceived. This was no other than to murder the inhabitants, to take the town into their own hands, and to create themselves into a republic independent of Rome. And when the plot was discovered, and thereby prevented from being carried into execution, the soldiers broke into an open mutiny, and obliging one Quintius, an eminent old officer, who lived in the neighbourhood, to become their leader, they began to advance towards Rome, and had already arrived within eight miles of the city. So terrible an enemy, almost at the gates, not a little alarmed the senate, who immediately created Valerius Corvus dictator, and sent him with another army to oppose them. The two armies were now drawn up against each other, while fathers and sons beheld themselves ready to plunge their swords into each others bosoms. Any other general but Corvus would, perhaps, have brought this civil war to extremity; but he knowing his influence among the soldiers, instead of going forward to meet the mutineers in an hostile manner, went with the most cordial friendship to embrace his old acquaintance. As soon as he reached them, he addressed them in the following terms. "Soldiers," said he, "in setting out from Rome, I implored the immortal gods, the gods of our country, your gods as well as mine, that I might return from hence with the glory, not of having conquered, but of having reconciled you. I have had, and shall still have opportunities enough of acquiring glory by war; I now only wish to acquire it by peace. The favour I earnestly solicited of the gods, it is in your power, soldiers, now to grant me, if you will only remember, that you are not encamped in the country of the Samnites or Volsci, but in the

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territory of Rome ; that those hills which you behold, are the hills of your native country ; that this army in front of you is composed of your fathers, sons, brothers, and other fellow-citizens ; and that I am your consul, under whom you last year defeated the legions of the Samnites twice, and as often made yourselves masters of their camp. Yes, soldiers, I am Marcus Valerius Corvus, who never availed myself of my illustrious birth to do you any wrong, but always to do you service ; who never was the proposer or supporter of any rigorous law against you, or of any decree of the senate, of which you had reason to complain ; and who, in all the offices I have held, have ever been more severe to myself than to you. If birth, valour, or dignities can inspire any one with pride, I may be supposed to be actuated by that foolish passion. I am descended of a noble family ; I have given repeated proofs of my courage ; and attained to the first office of the state at an earlier period than most men attain to any office at all : I was made consul at the age of twenty-three. During my first consulship, did I either act or speak in any other manner than I did when I was only tribune of the army ? I retained the same moderation in my two following consulships, and am still determined to do so in this high office of dictator, with which it has been thought proper to invest me, and not to treat those soldiers, who are mine and their country's, with more lenity and indulgence than I shall treat you ; who (I speak it with horror !) are now its enemies. You, therefore, shall draw the sword against me, before I draw it against you. If we must fight, the trumpet shall first sound, and the cry of battle first begin on your side. As to you, Quintius, from whatever motive you appear here, whether from choice or necessity, if we must come to blows, do you retire to the rear. It will be more honourable for you to flee before your country, than to fight against it. But now that we are employed in negotiating a peace, it becomes you undoubtedly to appear in the front, and to exert yourself strenuously in bringing the work to a conclusion. Finally, soldiers, do you propose but equitable terms, and we will readily grant them ; though be they what they may, we had certainly better submit to them, than imbrue our hands in the blood of those, whom we ought rather to risk our own lives in protecting from danger."

THE whole army seemed affected with this speech. Quintius, as their speaker, only desired to have their revolt forgiven ; and as for himself, as he was innocent of their conspiracy, he had no reason to ask pardon for his offences. Thus, this revolt, which at first threatened Rome with such imminent danger, was appeased by the prudence and moderation of a  
general



general, whose ambition it was to be gentle to his friends, and formidable only to his enemies. The mutineers were once more received into favour, and the dictator having no further employment abroad, laid down his office.

IN a little time after the Romans were engaged in a war with the Latins. As these two people were next neighbours, they had insensibly contracted a striking similarity of manners. They had the same language, the same dress, the same arms, the same discipline; in a word, they were, to all intents and purposes, the same people, except that they had different names, and were supposed to form two distinct nations. It was therefore necessary to take the greatest care to prevent confusion in the midst of an engagement; and, accordingly, the consul, Manlius, issued strict orders, that no one should presume to leave his rank without permission; for that he that did otherwise should be certainly put to death. The armies on both sides were then drawn up in array; but before they came to an engagement, Metius, general of the enemy's horse, stepped forward, and challenged any knight of the Roman army to fight him in single combat. For some time there was a general pause, no one daring to violate the orders that had lately been given, till Titus Manlius, the consul's son, burning with indignation to see the whole Roman army thus set at defiance by a single man, boldly advanced, and offered to meet the Latin. The soldiers, on both sides, for a while suspended the engagement, to be spectators of this furious encounter. The two champions drove against each other with the utmost violence. Metius wounded his adversary's horse in the neck; but Manlius, with better fortune, killed that of Metius. The latter having thus fallen to the ground, attempted, for a while, to support himself on his shield; but the Roman followed his blows with so much force, that he laid him dead at his feet as he was endeavouring to rise; and then stripping him of his armour, he returned in triumph to the tent of his father, who was giving the necessary directions for beginning the engagement.

APPLAUDED, however, as he might have been by his fellow-soldiers, he was far from meeting with the same approbation from his father. The consul knew too well the indispensable necessity of maintaining the rigour of military discipline to excuse the breach of it even in his own son. Instead, therefore, of receiving him with open arms, as the other probably expected, he regarded him with a stern, though at the same time with a compassionate air. Then assembling the army, and causing his son to appear before it, he spoke to him in the following terms: "Titus Manlius," said he, "as thou hast paid no respect either to the dignity of the consul,

or the authority of thy father; as thou hast presumed, contrary to my orders, to skirmish with the enemy, and hast thereby, as far as in thee lay, destroyed military discipline, which has hitherto been the great support of the Roman state; thou hast reduced me to the cruel necessity of sacrificing either my son or my country. But let us not hesitate in this dreadful dilemma: a thousand lives were well lost in such a cause; nor do I think that thou thyself, if thou hast any of my blood in thy veins, wilt refuse to die, when thy country is to reap the benefit of thy sufferings. Go, lictor, fasten him to the stake, and let his death serve as a dreadful example of the inevitable punishment that must ever attend the violation of military discipline." The whole army was struck with horror at this unnatural mandate; fear, for a while, rather than submission, kept them from speaking; but when they saw their young champion's head struck off, and his blood streaming upon the ground, they could no longer restrain their feelings, but poured out the most grievous lamentations for the unhappy youth, and the most bitter execrations against the cruel father. The dead body of young Manlius was carried without the camp, and being adorned with the spoils of the vanquished enemy, was buried with every circumstance of military splendour. Meanwhile the battle began with equal fury, and, for some time, with equal success on either side. The Latins depended chiefly on their bodily strength; the Romans, on their invincible courage and conduct. Forces so nearly matched seemed to want nothing but the interposition of their respective deities in order to turn to either side the scale of victory; and, in fact, the augurs, in taking the auspices, had declared it as the will of the gods, that whatever part of the Roman army should be distressed, the commander of that part should devote himself for his country, and die a sacrifice to save the lives of his soldiers. Manlius commanded the right wing, and Decius the left. Both sides fought, for some time, with doubtful success, as their courage and numbers were nearly equal; but after a little, the left wing of the Roman army began to give way. It was then that Decius, who commanded there, resolved to devote himself for his country, and to offer his own life as an atonement to save the lives of his men. Thus determined, he called out to the pontiff, Valerius, who happened to be present, and demanded his instructions how he should devote himself, and the form of the words he should use. By his directions, therefore, being clothed in the robe called *pretexta*, his head covered, and his arms stretched forward, standing upon a javelin, he devoted himself to the celestial and infernal gods,

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for the safety of Rome. Then arming himself, and mounting on horseback, he drove furiously into the midst of the enemy's ranks, carrying terror and consternation wherever he came, till he fell covered with wounds. In the mean time the Romans considered his devoting himself in this manner as a sure sign of victory, while the Latins regarded it as a prelude of their defeat. They accordingly began very soon to give way; and the Romans pressing them closely on every side, committed such a havoc among them, that not above a fourth part of them were suffered to escape. This was the last war of any consequence that the Latins had with the Romans; they were forced to beg a peace, and could not obtain it but upon hard conditions. Two years after, their strongest city, Padum, was taken, and they, as well as the other states of Latium, were brought into an entire submission to the Roman power.

ABOUT this time, a vestal, named Mencia, having incurred suspicion by the gaudiness of her dress, was accused before the pontiff, of violating her vow of chastity, and being convicted, underwent the usual punishment of being buried alive. But a greater disgrace was brought upon the sex by the plot that was formed, and partly executed, by some Roman ladies for poisoning their husbands. For this crime not less than one hundred and twenty of them were put to death.

THE Samnites were one of the most formidable enemies the Romans had hitherto had to contend with, not only on account of their numbers and their military discipline, but likewise on account of their valour. At last, however, their power was reduced to so low an ebb, that they were obliged to have recourse to stratagem, instead of force; and having contrived to draw the Romans into the defiles of Caudium, they surrounded them in such a manner, that it was impossible for these last to escape; and therefore, in order to save their lives, they were compelled to submit to the mortifying condition of passing under the yoke. But this was an indignity which so high spirited a people as the Romans could not long bear with patience. The senate refused to ratify the convention, which, they said, could not be legally concluded without their consent; and renewing the war against the Samnites, they soon constrained them to undergo the same punishment, which they had inflicted upon the Romans.

NOTHING of any great consequence happened for some years afterwards; the few events that occurred were rather of a private than a public nature. A temple was erected to plebeian chastity, in imitation of that which had formerly been

been dedicated to the chastity of patricians. This was owing to an affront that had been offered to a lady of the patrician order, who had been refused admittance to the old temple merely because she had married a plebeian. Provoked at this insult, which she did not deserve, the man whom she had married being one of the most eminent citizens of Rome, and one that had rendered the state the most signal services, she caused a chapel to be fitted up in her own house, distinct from the rest of the building, and placed an altar in it. Then assembling the plebeian ladies, "I consecrate," said she, "this altar to plebeian chastity; and my wish is, that no less emulation may prevail among the women with regard to virtue, than prevails among the men with respect to valour and honour. Be it your care, therefore, to make people confess, that this altar is adored with more devotion, if possible, and by women of stricter chastity, than the other."

The Romans had now acquired, if not in actual force, at least in reputation, such an evident superiority over the other states of Italy, that not one of them thought themselves a match for that warlike people; and hence it was, that the Tarentines, who had lately engaged in hostilities with the Romans, found it necessary to apply for succour to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, one of the greatest captains, and most powerful princes of the time. Pyrrhus very readily promised them assistance, and not only entertained hopes of enabling them to overcome the Romans, but even of making an entire conquest of Italy for himself, and afterwards of carrying his arms into other countries. But the vanity of this hope, and even the inutility of the project, if it could be accomplished, was painted to him in the most lively colours by Cineas, a Greek philosopher and soldier, who had long resided at the court of Pyrrhus, and who having been formerly a disciple of Demosthenes, is said to have retained more of the fire and spirit of that celebrated orator than any other man of the age.

Cineas seeing Pyrrhus intent upon his preparations for Italy, and finding him one day at leisure, insensibly drew him into the following conversation: "The Romans, said he, have the reputation of being excellent soldiers, and have many warlike nations under their dominion. If we have the good fortune to overcome them, what benefit shall we reap from war?" "Cineas," replied the king, "the question answers itself. When once we have overcome the Romans, there will be no town, whether Greek or Barbarian, in all the country able to oppose us. We shall at once be masters of all Italy; whose extent, wealth, and power are better known to thee than any man." Cineas, after a little pause, continued,

"And



“And having subdued Italy, what shall we do next?” Pyrrhus not yet discovering what he aimed at, replied, “Sicily next holds out her arms to receive us, a rich and populous island, and easy to be gained; for, ever since the death of Agathocles, faction and anarchy prevail in all their towns, and every thing is at the discretion of their turbulent orators.”

“You speak,” says Cineas, “what is highly probable; but shall the possession of Sicily put an end to the war?” “Far from it,” answered Pyrrhus; “for if fortune favours us with victory there, that shall only serve as the forerunner of greater undertakings. When Sicily is reduced, who can refrain from Lybia and Africa, then within our reach, which Agathocles, even when forced to fly in a clandestine manner from Syracuse, and passing the sea only with a few ships, had almost surprized? Now when we have added Africa to our conquests, can it be supposed, that any one of those enemies, who now disturb us, will dare to make any farther resistance?”

“No, certainly,” replied Cineas; “for it is evident, that when we are possessed of such a mighty power, we shall soon reduce Macedon, and govern in Greece without controul.”

“But when we have conquered all, what is the next thing we are to do?” “Why then, my friend,” replied Pyrrhus laughing, “we will live at our ease, and drink and be merry.” Cineas, when he had brought him thus far, replied, “And what hinders us now from living at our ease, and taking our pleasure? We have already at hand, without any care or trouble, what we are going in quest of, at the expence of so much blood, labour, and danger; at the expence of so many calamities, which we shall suffer ourselves, and which we shall inflict upon others.”

BUT princes are not to be diverted from their ambitious pursuits either by the charms of eloquence or the force of argument. Pyrrhus still persisted in his resolution of assisting the Tarentines, and as a proof of his sincerity he sent a small body of troops before him under the command of this very Cineas, who was as good a soldier as an orator. In a little time after, he followed himself with an army of three thousand horse, twenty thousand foot, two thousand archers, five hundred slingers, and twenty elephants, in which the commanders of that time began to place great confidence. However, but a small part of this force arrived in Italy with him; for many of his ships were dispersed, and some of them totally lost in a storm.

His first care, after his arrival at Tarentum, was to reform the manners of the inhabitants, who were then perhaps the most luxurious and debauched people in the world. Instead of

making preparations for war, they spent their whole time in bathing, feasting, dancing, and other diversions, as if they had had no enemy to contend with. The Romans, however, were exerting themselves with the utmost vigour to oppose so formidable an enemy as Pyrrhus; and the consul Lævinus was sent with a numerous force to interrupt his progress. Pyrrhus, though his whole army was not yet arrived, advanced to meet him; but previously sent an ambassador to ask whether they would not allow him to mediate between them and the people of Tarentum. To this Lævinus answered, that he would neither admit him as a mediator, nor feared him as an enemy; and then leading the ambassador through the Roman camp, desired him to take particular notice of what he saw, and to report the result to his master.

IN consequence of this, both armies approaching, pitched their tents in the plain between the cities of Pandosia and Heraclea, and upon the opposite banks of the river Siris. Pyrrhus was always extremely anxious to chuse a proper situation for his own camp, and to examine carefully that of the enemy. Riding along the banks of the river, and observing the Roman method of encamping, he was heard to say, that these barbarians were by no means barbarous in the art of war; and that he should soon see whether their bravery was not equal to their knowledge. Pyrrhus seems to have been desirous of avoiding a battle until he should be joined by his allies. The Romans, on the other hand, were no less eager to bring matters to a speedy decision; and having contrived to cross the river at a place where such an attempt was thought to be least practicable, and falling upon the detached parties of the enemy, they compelled Pyrrhus to come to an engagement, whether he would or not. This battle was for some time maintained with desperate valour on both sides. Both armies are said to have been repulsed no less than seven times, and as often to have returned to the charge. At length Pyrrhus brought up his elephants, which turned the scale of victory in his favour. The Romans, terrified at the sight of such formidable animals, which they had never seen before, began to give way, and Pyrrhus completed their confusion, by attacking them with his Thessalian cavalry. It was now no longer a battle, but a route, or rather indeed a carnage. The Romans are said to have lost in this engagement about fifteen thousand men, and the loss of Pyrrhus fell not much short of thirteen thousand, including the flower of his army, so that when some one complimented him on his success, he was heard to say, that such another victory would ruin him entirely. Next day, as he was taking a view of the field of battle, he could not help



help regarding with admiration the bodies of the Romans, who were slain, upon seeing them all with their wounds in front, their countenances, even in death, marked with a noble resolution, and a sternness that awed him into respect, he was heard to exclaim, in the true spirit of a military adventurer, “O! with what ease could I conquer the world, had I the Romans for soldiers, or had they me for their king!”

It was a maxim of the Romans not to ransom those prisoners who had surrendered to the enemy through fear. But the case was different with the prisoners taken in the late battle. Most of them were of the cavalry: they had repeatedly distinguished themselves by their extraordinary valour; and had they not been thrown by their horses, who were frightened by the noise, smell, and size of the elephants, they would probably not have been taken at all. It was, therefore, determined to ransom them without loss of time; and for this purpose three of the principal senators were sent as deputies to Pyrrhus. Among these was the celebrated Fabricius. Upon being introduced into the king's presence, they acquainted him with the purport of their errand. Pyrrhus, who was no less desirous of peace than the Romans, replied, that to restore such brave fellows, either by way of ransom or in exchange for other prisoners, would be like putting arms into their hands against himself. “But there is another method,” said he, “much more sure and certain; and that is for us to conclude a solid peace with one another: I shall then restore the prisoners without ransom. There is nothing I desire more than to enter into a treaty of friendship and alliance with a people who are so worthy of my respect and esteem.”

HAVING thus addressed the deputies in general, he afterwards took Fabricius aside, and spoke to him as follows: “From the accounts I have received of your great qualities, I am exceedingly desirous that you should be one of my friends. I am told that you are a great captain; remarkable for justice and temperance, and equally distinguished for every other virtue. But I also know that you are possessed of no estate, and that on this point alone fortune has dealt hardly with you in reducing you to the situation of the very poorest senator. To supply this defect, I am ready to give you as much gold and silver as will raise you above the richest person in Rome. And do not imagine I think that, in this, I shall do you a favour; on the contrary, it is I that will receive the favour. For I am persuaded, that no expence does a prince more honour, than to establish the fortune of great men, reduced, by poverty, to a situation unworthy of their virtue and merit, and that such a way of laying out money is the noblest use a king can make of.”

of his riches. For the rest, I am far from expecting that you should do me any unjust or dishonourable service by way of acknowledgment. What I ask of you can only do you honour, and augment your power in your country. I conjure you first to assist me with your credit in bringing your senate into my views, which I believe to be just and reasonable. Represent to them, I entreat you, that I have given my promise to assist the Tarentines, and the other Greeks on this coast of Italy, and I cannot in honour abandon them, especially as I am at the head of a powerful army, with which I have already gained a battle. Beside which, I find it disagreeable to support the character I bear here, and to see myself obliged to consider as enemies a people who are so worthy of my love. Let them change that term into the name of friends, and they shall find in me a faithful ally. If my quality of king renders me suspected to the senate, because many, who bear that name, made no difficulty openly to violate the faith of treaties and alliances, be you yourself my surety, and deign to assist me with your counsels, in all my enterprizes, and to command my armies under me. I have need of a man of virtue, and a faithful friend; and you, on your side, have occasion for a prince, whose liberality may enable you to indulge more freely the benevolence of your heart. Let us not then foolishly refuse, but let us readily consent to assist each other."

To this speech Fabricius returned the following answer—  
 "As you have already formed such a favourable opinion of me, both with respect to my private conduct, and my behaviour in public offices, it is needless for me to speak to you about them. You seem also to be so well acquainted with my poverty, that I save myself the trouble of telling you that I have neither money to lend out at interest, nor slaves to bring me in any revenue; but that my whole estate consists of a small house of very mean appearance, and a little field that supplies me with the necessaries of life. If, however, you believe, that my poverty renders my situation inferior to that of any other Roman, and that, whilst I discharge the duties of a good man, and an useful citizen, I am the less regarded on account of my not being ranked in the number of the rich; I must tell you, that your opinion, whether formed by yourself, or received from others, is entirely groundless. If I do not possess a great fortune, I never did, nor do I yet believe, that my indigence has ever done me any prejudice, either in a public or a private capacity.



“HAS my country, on account of my poverty, ever debarred me from any of those employments that are the object of ambition to all great minds? The greatest dignities are conferred upon me. I am placed at the head of the most illustrious embassies. The most sacred functions of religious worship are intrusted to my care. When affairs of the least importance are brought into the senate, I hold my rank, and freely give my opinion; I take place with the richest and most powerful citizens; and if I have any thing to complain of, it is of being too much praised and honoured. To discharge the duties of all these employments, I expend nothing of my own, any more than the rest of the Romans. Rome does not ruin her citizens by raising them to public offices. She bestows upon those whom she thus honours every thing necessary for executing their trust, and she even does it in the most liberal manner. For it is not with our city as with many others, where the public is poor, while individuals are rich. We are rich while the commonwealth is so; because she is rich only for our sakes. In equally admitting the rich and the poor to public employments as she thinks them most worthy, she makes all her citizens equal, and knows no other distinction between them but that of virtue.

“As to what concerns my private affairs, far from complaining of my fortune, I esteem myself the happiest of men, when I compare myself with the rich, and I feel a kind of delight, and even pride, rising within me from the difference of our condition. My little field, barren as it is, supplies me with what is necessary, provided I take care to cultivate it, and preserve its produce. Do I want any thing more? All nourishment is grateful to me, when seasoned with hunger. I drink with pleasure, when I am thirsty. I taste all the sweets of repose when I am weary. I content myself with clothes that keep out the cold; and of all the moveables that serve for the same use, the cheapest are those I like best. I should be unreasonable and unjust, if I accused fortune. She supplies me with all that nature requires: as to superfluities, she has not given them; but at the same time, I have learnt not to desire them. To have few wants is to be rich. Of what then can I complain? Not having this abundance, indeed, I am not in a condition to relieve the wants of others; the sole advantage, in my opinion, for which the wealthy are to be envied. But while I impart to the commonwealth and my friends a little of what I have; while I perform to my country every service I am able; and, in a word, while I faithfully execute every office com-

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mitted to my care, with what can I reproach myself? The desire of acquiring riches never entered into my thoughts. As I have been long employed in the administration of public affairs, I have had a thousand opportunities of amassing large sums without exposing myself to any kind of reproach. Could a more favourable one be desired than that which I enjoyed a few years ago? With the consular dignity I was sent at the head of a numerous army against the Samnites, Albanians, and Bruttians. I ravaged a large tract of country; I defeated the enemy in several engagements; I took many cities full of plunder; I enriched the army with the spoil; I returned to every citizen what he had advanced for carrying on the war; and having received the honour of a triumph, I put four hundred talents into the public treasury. After having neglected so considerable a booty, of which I might have reserved to myself whatever part I thought proper; after having despised riches so justly acquired, and sacrificed the thirst of gain to the love of glory, in imitation of Valerius Publicola, and other great men, who by their disinterested conduct have raised the power of Rome to so great a height; would it be consistent in me to accept the gold and silver you offer me? What idea would the world entertain of me? What example should I set my country? On my return to Rome, how should I be able to support its reproaches, or even its looks? Would not our censors, those magistrates who are appointed to superintend our morals and manners, oblige me to give an account before all the world of the presents which you would make me accept? You, therefore, if you please, shall keep your riches, and I my poverty and reputation."

PYRRHUS, surprised at the disinterested spirit of Fabricius, was determined to try whether he was possessed of equal strength of mind in other particulars. Fabricius had never seen an elephant. Pyrrhus, therefore, the very next day ordered one of his largest elephants to be placed behind a screen, while he and the Roman were engaged in conversation; and then causing the screen to be suddenly removed, the huge animal made its appearance; but Fabricius was so far from being intimidated at the sight, that he only smiled upon the king, and said, "that he looked upon the terrors of that day with the same indifference, as he had regarded the allurements of the preceding." Pyrrhus was now so charmed with the whole character of Fabricius, that he was extremely desirous of retaining him in his court, and he therefore entreated him, that after effecting a peace between him and the Romans, he would come and live with him, promising that, upon that condition, he would treat him



as one of his greatest captains and most confidential friends. To this Fabricius only replied with a smile, "I would not advise you to do so; for if once those, who now admire you, were acquainted with me, they would much rather chuse to have me for their king than you." Pyrrhus was so far from being offended at this answer, that he only laughed at it, and valued himself the more for it, as if it had contained an indirect compliment. To gratify Fabricius in the only point that he knew would be agreeable to him, he permitted all the Roman prisoners to return to Rome with him, upon condition, that if peace was not concluded, they should immediately come back to Epirus. Soon after his own ambassadors set out for Rome. They were headed by Cineas, of whom Pyrrhus was wont to say, that he gained more places by this man's eloquence, than by his own arms. But all his eloquence was thrown away upon the present occasion: the Romans refused to listen to any proposals of a peace, or even of a truce, unless Pyrrhus would immediately quit Italy; and as he could not be brought to comply with this condition, another battle of consequence ensued, in which the Romans were again defeated, though Pyrrhus had no great reason to boast of his victory, himself having been wounded in the arm, and four thousand of his men left dead upon the spot; so that when some people were congratulating him upon the advantage he had gained, he only sighed, and said, "Another such victory, and I shall be undone."

THIS battle finished the campaign. Hostilities were renewed in the spring with equal ardour on both sides, and the two armies were now fast advancing, and had almost approached to each other, when a letter was brought to old Fabricius, the Roman general, from the king's physician, importing, that, for a proper reward, he would take him off by poison, and thus rid the Romans of a powerful enemy and a dangerous war. There are few people, perhaps, either in ancient or modern times, that would not have accepted of this offer with pleasure; but the Romans had a certain greatness and elevation of mind, that raised them infinitely above all other nations. Fabricius received the proposal with the utmost indignation. He even resolved to communicate the matter to Pyrrhus, and accordingly he wrote him a letter, acquainting him with the treachery of his physician, and at the same time telling him that he made a very bad choice both of his friends and enemies; for that he waged war against the brave and generous, while he reposed all his confidence in traitors and assassins. Upon the receipt of this letter, Pyrrhus could not help expressing his surprize at the  
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generosity of his enemy. “Admirable Fabricius,” cried he, “it would be much easier to turn the sun from its course, than thee from the path of honour.” He then made a strict enquiry into the conduct of his physician; and finding him to be guilty of the crime he was charged with, he caused him to be executed. At the same time, in order to shew his gratitude to the consul, he restored to him all the prisoners he had taken, and again desired to negotiate a peace; but the Romans refused to comply with his request upon any other terms than those they had already offered.

Nothing of any consequence happened during the two next years, at the end of which Pyrrhus having increased his army, divided it into two parts. One of these he sent against the consul Lentulus, while he himself went to attack Curius Dentatus, the other consul, before his colleague could come to his assistance. His principal view was to surprize the enemy by night; but being detained on his march longer than he expected, he could not come up with them till break of day. The Romans discovered him descending from the mountains, and immediately drew out to receive him, and a battle ensuing, Pyrrhus was not only defeated with the loss of twenty-six thousand of his best troops, but his camp was also taken. This last circumstance was of great service to the Romans. It taught them to encamp their armies with greater order and regularity than formerly; and indeed to their improvement in this particular, many of their succeeding victories ought justly to be ascribed.

Pyrrhus having now lost all hopes of being able to support the Tarentines against the Romans, resolved to quit Italy; but at the same time to conceal his design until he had accomplished it. Accordingly calling the Tarentines together, he informed them, that he had received assurances from Greece of being speedily furnished with large supplies of both men and money, which he desired them to wait for in tranquillity, and then embarking his troops the very next night, he returned undisturbed into his own kingdom, leaving, however, a garrison in Tarentum, in order to save appearances. Such was the conclusion of the war with Pyrrhus, after it had continued for the space of six years. Pyrrhus was certainly one of the greatest captains of the age, and his ambition was equal to his military talents. He afterwards engaged in other undertakings of a similar nature, particularly against Antigonus, the son of Demetrius; as also against the Lacedæmonians, and the inhabitants of Argos, who opposed him in their streets, where he was killed about the year of Rome 480, by a tile which a woman threw at him from her



her window. The Tarentines being abandoned by Pyrrhus, had recourse to the Carthaginians, who sent a fleet to their assistance; but the Romans having found means to bring over the garrison to their interest, made themselves masters of the city, and levelled the walls with the ground. Soon after the defeat of Pyrrhus, Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, sent ambassadors into Italy, to congratulate the Romans on their success, and to enter into an alliance with them; and the Romans, in return for this compliment, sent ambassadors into Egypt, where they met with a most honourable reception. About four years after this, silver was first coined at Rome. The Roman money had hitherto consisted only of copper. All Italy being now reduced under the domination of the Romans, and consequently enjoying a profound tranquillity, the first care of the senate was to punish the perfidy of the legion, which had massacred the inhabitants of Rhegium, and taken possession of their wives and estates. As these miscreants saw the Roman arms prospering every where, they began to apprehend that they should not be suffered long to remain unmolested, and they therefore prepared for a vigorous defence. Beside the ferocity that was now become natural to them, they relied much on the amity of the Mamertines, and the great success of their own arms against the Carthaginians and Pyrrhus, both of whom they had lately compelled to drop the design of attacking their city. They even carried their rebellious spirit to such a height, that having entered Crotona by the assistance of some traitors, they had the presumption to put the Roman garrison to the sword, and to demolish the city. Genucius, the consul, marched against these rebels. Having driven them into their city, he besieged them there in form. They defended themselves with the courage of lions, as they were altogether desperate, and had nothing to expect but the most cruel kind of death. They even gained some advantages over the consul, and would have reduced him to the want of provisions, if Hiero had not supplied him with corn. That prince made perpetual war upon the Mamertines, and their allies, who had been guilty of the same crime at Messina, as they had committed at Rhegium. As much, therefore, out of inclination, as to make his court to the Romans, he assisted the consul by every means in his power. The besieged being at length reduced to extremity, were obliged to surrender at discretion. Only three hundred Roman soldiers fell alive into the consul's hands. The rest were either dead before, or, to avoid the disgrace of a public execution, had fought like lions till they were killed. Genucius immediately caused the deserters and thieves, who had fled

fled to Rhegium in great numbers, as to a place of safety, to be put to death. As to the legionary soldiers, he carried them with him to Rome, in order that the senate might determine their fate. The sentence was severe, and suitable to the atrocity of the crime they had committed. They were first carried to prison, and were all condemned to be whipt with rods, and then to be beheaded. One of the tribunes of the people opposed this decree of the senate; nevertheless it was put in execution, and not one of the culprits was suffered to escape. Not, however, to terrify the multitude by putting them all to death at once, only fifty in a day were executed. The senate even issued an order, that no one should bury them, or go into mourning on their account. Jubellius, the original author and conductor of this plot, met with a punishment, if possible, more severe. Driven out of Rhegium by the very persons who had formerly been his accomplices, he took refuge at Messina, where being seized with a violent disorder in his eyes, he applied to a physician, who was a native of Rhegium, (which Jubellius did not know) and who, glad of such an opportunity of avenging the cause of his country, told the Roman, that he was possessed of a remedy, that would infallibly relieve him, but that it was extremely violent, and required patience. The hope of a cure made Jubellius submit to any thing. The physician, accordingly, applied to his eyes a certain composition, in which he had mixed a considerable quantity of cantharides, a most powerful corrosive, ordering him, at the same time, not to take off the dressing, till he should return; upon which he immediately left Messina. Jubellius soon felt the sharpest and most exquisite pain, as if burning coals had been held to his eyes, and continued in inexpressible torments. After having long expected the return of the physician, he tore off the bandage, which had already deprived him of sight, and left him for the rest of his life in insupportable anguish. The inhabitants of Rhegium were industriously sought for, and were restored to the possession of their city, together with their laws and liberties. The execution of these criminals gave the Romans as high a character for their inflexible justice, as they had already attained for their invincible bravery.



## C H A P. XV.

*From the Beginning of the FIRST PUNIC WAR, to the  
Beginning of the SECOND.*

[ANN. ROM. 484.]

THE wars of the Romans had been hitherto confined to Italy ; but now they began to extend to a greater length, and to take in a larger compass. The first foreign nation that felt the weight of their arms were the Carthaginians ; a people possessing that part of Africa, which is now called Barbary, together with Sardinia, Corsica, the greatest part of Sicily, and other smaller isles. It is more than probable, that a jealousy had long subsisted between these two states, which were then the most powerful in the world ; but the immediate cause of the first rupture between them was their interference in the affairs of the Mamertines, who were then at war with Hiero, one of the kings of Sicily. The Mamertines, finding themselves unable to make head against Hiero, applied, for assistance, both to the Romans and Carthaginians. The Carthaginians having then some troops in the island, were the first to comply with their request. They entered Messina, the capital of the Mamertines, and obliged Hiero to give up the scheme which he had lately formed of besieging the city. After Hiero's retreat, the Mamertines took courage, and began to deliberate on the choice they should make. Some affirmed, that it was necessary to put themselves under the protection of the Carthaginians on many accounts, and particularly as they had admitted their troops into the city. Others maintained, that the Mamertines had no less to fear from the Carthaginians than from Hiero : that it was to run headlong into voluntary slavery, to trust their defence to a republic that had a powerful fleet upon the coast of Sicily, and was actually in possession of a great part of the island, and had been long endeavouring to make herself mistress of the rest ; that, consequently, the only choice they could make with safety, was to implore the aid of the Romans, a people as invincible in war, as faithful in their engagements, who had not a foot of land in Sicily, possessed no fleet, nor any experience in naval affairs, and was equally interested to prevent either Hiero or the Carthaginians from becoming too powerful in Sicily : and that lastly, as they had already sent ambassadors to Rome to implore

implore the protection of the Roman people, it would be offering them a kind of insult to change their resolution all of a sudden, and solicit the assistance of any other nation.

While these things were going on at Messina, the Roman senate considered the matter in every possible light in which it could be viewed. On the one hand it appeared shameful and unworthy of the Romans openly to take upon them the defence of traitors and assassins. For it is to be observed, that the Mamertines had been guilty of the same crime that was committed by the Roman legion at Rhegium, that is, they had murdered all the males of Messina, had married their wives, and seized upon their property. On the other hand, it was of the last importance to put a stop to the progress of the Carthaginians, who, not content with their conquests in Africa and Spain, had made themselves masters of all the islands in the neighbourhood of Sardinia and Etruria, and would soon undoubtedly get possession of the whole of Sicily, if they were allowed to retain Messina. Now the distance from this last place into Italy was not great; and to leave the entrance open was to invite so powerful an enemy thither. The senate, besides, was offended at the Carthaginians for the aid they had given the people of Tarentum. These reasons were certainly strong, but they were not sufficient to determine the senate to undertake the defence of the Mamertines: motives of justice and honour upon this occasion prevailed over those of policy and interest. The people, however, were not so scrupulous. In an assembly, which was soon after held, a resolution was taken to aid the Mamertines. An army was raised for the purpose. The command of it was given to the consul Appius. He had the straits of Messina to pass. The enterprize was dangerous, or rather indeed rash, and was, according to all the rules of probability, impracticable. The Romans had no fleet; they had only boats of a very coarse construction, and which were indeed little better than the canoes of the Indians. The Carthaginians, on the other hand, had a fleet well manned, and consisting of a great number of ships.

In this dilemma, which would have disconcerted any other man, Appius had recourse to stratagem. Not being able to pass the straits while the Carthaginian galleys rode there, he made a feint of abandoning the enterprize, and marching back to Rome. The enemy believing him to be really in earnest, immediately retired, and Appius taking advantage of their absence, and of the darkness of the night that ensued, passed the straits without interruption, and arrived in Sicily. The place where he landed was not far from the camp of Hiero.



Hiero. Appius exhorted his men to fall upon it instantly, assuring them, that the enemy being thus taken by surprize, would be easily routed. It happened as he had foretold. Hiero, who little dreamed of the Romans being so near him, had scarce time to draw up his troops. His cavalry, however, gained some advantage at first; but the Romans attacking the main body of his army, soon broke it and put it to flight. Appius entered Messina in triumph; and taking advantage of the consternation that had now seized the enemy, he immediately went in quest of the Carthaginians, whom he soon overtook, and entirely defeated; and Hiero being apprehensive for the safety of his capital Saracuse, sent ambassadors to the consul, soliciting a peace, which was granted him on condition, that he should restore to the Romans all the places he had taken from them or their allies; that he should set the prisoners free without ransom; that he should pay an hundred talents of silver to defray the expences of the war; and that, in consideration of these concessions, he should be allowed Syracuse and all the cities dependant upon it.

A stop, however, seemed to be put to the farther progress of the Romans by their want of a fleet; but this defect they supplied with a spirit and ingenuity that are altogether unexampled. A Carthaginian vessel, in a storm, happened to be driven upon the coast of Italy; and this served them as a model. They now began to apply themselves to the building of ships with incredible ardour. The consuls presided in this new kind of work; and the people, animated by their exhortations, and still more by their example, exerted themselves with so much vigour, that in the space of two months, they actually raised a fleet of no less than one hundred and twenty vessels; so that, says Florus, one might have almost believed, that these were not ships built by art, but trees metamorphosed into gallies.

At the same time they had taken care to instruct a certain number of men to row these vessels. For this purpose they had placed them upon benches on the sea side, and taught them to move their arms as if they had actually been rowing. Every thing being now got ready, the fleet put to sea under the conduct of Duilius, the consul, who though greatly inferior to the enemy both in number of ships, and in naval knowledge, yet gained a complete victory, the Carthaginians losing about fifty of their vessels, and the undisturbed sovereignty of the sea, which they had hitherto possessed.

Duilius owed his victory, in a great measure, to his own prudence and sagacity; for as his ships were very unweildy in comparison of those of the enemy, and his men greatly inferior

inferior to theirs in making their evolutions, he invented a kind of grappling iron, by which he boarded their vessels, and obliged them to come to close quarters; and as the Romans excelled all the world in this kind of fighting, their success, of consequence, was absolutely infallible. The senate were so overjoyed at this victory, that they not only granted Duilius the honour of a naval triumph (the first of the kind that had ever been seen at Rome), but they likewise decreed, that he should be allowed the privilege, whenever he supped in the city, of being attended with flambeaux and music. And still farther to express their regard for him, they erected to his honour a rostral pillar, so called from the beaks of the ships, in Latin *Rostra*; and this pillar is still standing in Rome.

THIS Duilius seems to have been as happy in private life, as he was successful in his public undertakings; for being one day reproached with having a stinking breath, he asked his wife Biblia, why she had not informed him of it—"I thought," said she, "it had been the same with all men."

NOTWITHSTANDING the late success of the Romans, they were abundantly sensible, that Sicily could not be conquered by any other means than by making a descent upon Africa, and attacking the Carthaginians in the very center of their dominions. With this view, they fitted out a fleet of three hundred and thirty ships, on board of which they embarked an army of one hundred and forty thousand men. The conduct of this mighty force was committed to the two consuls, Regulus and Manlius. The generals immediately set sail, and were met by the Carthaginians with a fleet still more numerous, and men more used to the sea. While the fight continued at a distance, the Carthaginians, by their superior skill in naval affairs, seemed to have the advantage; but when the Romans came to grapple with them, the appearance of things was totally changed. The enemy's fleet was instantly dispersed; thirty of their ships were sunk, and fifty of them taken with all their crews. The Romans being now masters of the sea, continued their course towards Africa, on which they debarked their land-forces, and soon after took the city of Clypea, together with twenty thousand men, who were made prisoners of war.

THE senate being informed of these great successes, commanded Manlius to return to Italy with the greatest part of the army, in order to conduct the war in Sicily; and directed that Regulus should continue in Africa to prosecute his victories there.



THE Carthaginians, dispirited by their late misfortune, sent ambassadors to Regulus, demanding a peace; but this he refused to grant them, but upon the hardest conditions. They therefore implored the aid of the Spartans, who sent them Xantippus, one of their ablest generals. Xantippus, observing that the Carthaginians were much superior to the Romans in cavalry, and might derive great advantage from employing their elephants, caused them to descend into the plain, where Regulus, who despised this Spartan captain, was entirely defeated and made prisoner by the Carthaginians, who treated him with great inhumanity. Their cruelty and ingratitude to their deliverer, Xantippus, were still more inexcusable; for, envying the glory he had lately acquired, and unable to bear the thoughts of owing their safety to the Spartans, they resolved to send him back to his own country; but, instead of conducting him thither in the manner he deserved, they murdered him by the way, and threw his body into the sea.

As Regulus was now taken prisoner in Africa, and his army almost annihilated, there was an absolute necessity for sending out fresh forces and fresh commanders. Accordingly, the new consuls, Æmilius Paulus and Fabius Nobilior, set sail with a fleet of three hundred and fifty vessels, and were met near Africa by the Carthaginian navy. A battle immediately ensued, in which the Romans gained the victory, after taking thirty of the enemy's ships, and sinking a hundred and four of them. The consuls then took on board the garrison of Clypea, and proposed returning, without loss of time, to Sicily; but before they could reach the coasts of that island, a violent tempest arose, and most of their vessels were either dashed to pieces or were swallowed up in the waves. The shore was all covered with the bodies of the dead; both the consuls perished on the occasion; and the handful of men, that had the fortune to escape, were kindly received by Hiero, who, after providing them with clothes and other necessaries, conveyed them safe to Messina. Karthala, the Carthaginian, taking advantage of this misfortune, made himself master of Agrigentum.

BUT the Romans were incapable of being dispirited by any calamities. In about three months after they had built another fleet of two hundred and twenty vessels. They now reduced some other towns in Sicily. The following spring the consuls sailed with the whole fleet, to Sicily, and afterwards to Africa, but performed nothing worthy of notice. Coming at last near the lesser Syrtes, and being ignorant of those coasts, they unhappily fell on certain quicksands, where they were in  
great

great danger, though they afterwards reached Sicily in a fleeing condition. Sailing from thence very imprudently towards Rome, through the straits, they were overtaken by a storm, and lost a hundred and fifty ships.

SUCH a continued succession of misfortunes began to discourage the Romans, notwithstanding their invincible spirit. The senate, therefore, decreed, that no more naval engagements should be fought; and that only sixty vessels should be kept at sea, to guard the coasts of Italy. These marks of despondence coming to the ears of Asdrubal, the Carthaginian general, he laid waste the whole country about Panormus in Sicily; and this he did with the greater ease, as Metellus, the consul, would not stir out of its walls. He was not, however, so much off his guard as the Carthaginian imagined; for wisely laying hold of a fair opportunity, he drew up his soldiers so very advantageously against the elephants, that when Asdrubal ventured to approach the town, he suddenly marched out, and falling upon him, gave him a dreadful overthrow, killing twenty thousand of his men, and taking twenty-six of his elephants; a victory that procured him the honour of a triumph.

Soon after this the Carthaginians lost all Sicily, Drepanum and Lilybæum excepted, to the latter of which places Asdrubal escaped; but being condemned at Carthage, he was executed there on his return to it; the unhappy fate of many a commander of that fierce people.

By this time the Carthaginians were heartily tired of a war, that had involved them in so great and such repeated calamities, and therefore began to turn their thoughts towards a peace. They, accordingly, sent Regulus, with their ambassadors, to Rome, to make proposals for that purpose to the senate. Regulus had been imprisoned five years at Carthage; and before his setting out from that city, had been obliged to take an oath to return to it in case he proved unsuccessful in his endeavours to procure a peace, or at least an exchange of prisoners. On his arrival at Rome, he acquainted the senate with the motives of his voyage, when being desired to give his opinion freely, he replied, "that he could not do so as a senator, because he had lost that character, ever since he had fallen into the hands of the enemy; but that he would venture to speak as a private person." This was a very delicate affair, and every one was touched with the misfortunes of so great a man. He had only one word to say; and that would have restored him to his liberty, his fortune, his dignity, his wife and children; but that word seemed to be inconsistent with the honour and welfare of his country. He regarded



regarded only the sentiments with which fortitude and greatness of mind inspired him. He therefore frankly declared, "that an exchange of prisoners should not so much as be thought of, since such an example would be of fatal consequence to the republic: that citizens, who had been so mean-spirited as to surrender their arms and persons to the enemy, deserved not the least pity, and were incapable of ever serving their country: that as to himself, he was so far advanced in years, that his death ought to be considered as nothing; whereas they had in their hands several Carthaginian generals, in the prime of life, who were capable of doing their country great service for many years: that he had so much of the true spirit of a Roman, that he could not do any thing that was base or dishonourable; and did not so much fear the tortures of a cruel rack, as the ignominy of an infamous action; the former touching only the body, but the latter piercing the mind."

It was with the utmost difficulty that the senate gave its assent to so generous and unparalleled a counsel. The illustrious exile, therefore, set out from Rome, in order to return to Carthage, unmoved either with the deep sorrow of his friends, or the tears of his wife and children, though he was not ignorant of the torments that were preparing for him. For when the enemy saw him return to Carthage, not only without having seconded the views of their ambassadors, but likewise with the additional guilt (as they thought) of opposing them, there was no kind of torture that they did not inflict upon him. They imprisoned him for a long time in a dark dungeon, from whence, after cutting off his eye-lids, they brought him out at once, and exposed him to the beams of the sun, when its heat was the greatest. They then put him into a kind of chest or barrel, stuck full of nails, whose sharp points running into his flesh, kept him in perpetual torment. At length, after ingenuity had been exhausted in inventing new methods of torture, they nailed him to a cross, the most usual kind of punishment among them; and in that posture he expired.

THE senate being informed of the tragical death of Regulus, delivered up some prisoners of the greatest distinction to his wife Marcia, who shut them into an armory filled with iron spikes, where she kept them five days without sustenance, intending to make them suffer tortures that her husband had undergone. Bostar, the Carthaginian, died under the torments; but Hamilcar was kept five days longer with the dead body; having only so much food allowed him, as would keep life in him a few days. The Magistrates hearing of this, began to relent; and giving strict orders, that no more captives should

be used in this manner, they sent the ashes of Boſtar to Carthage, and treated the reſt of the priſoners with greater moderation.

BOTH ſides now took up arms with greater fury than ever. At length the Roman perſeverance was crowned with ſucceſs. One victory followed upon the back of another. Fabius Buteo once more ſhewed them the way to naval victory, by defeating a large ſquadron of the enemy's ſhips; but the conſul Lutatius gained a victory ſtill more complete, in which the power of Carthage was totally deſtroyed at ſea, by the loſs of an hundred and twenty ſhips. This loſs brought the Carthaginians to ſue for a peace, which the Romans granted, but ſtill upon the ſame conditions which Regulus had offered at the gates of Carthage. Theſe were, “that they ſhould lay down a thouſand talents of ſilver, to defray the expences of the war; and ſhould pay two thouſand two hundred more within ten years: that they ſhould evacuate Sicily, and all ſuch iſlands as they poſſeſſed near it: that they ſhould never make war againſt the allies of Rome, nor come with any veſſels of war within the Roman territories: and laſtly, that all their priſoners and deſerters ſhould be delivered up without ranſom.” Theſe conditions the Carthaginians would have rejected at any other time; but they were now reduced to ſuch a very low ebb, that they were glad to accept of them.

SUCH was the concluſion of the firſt Punic war, which had laſted twenty-four years without interruption. The obſtinacy of both ſides in contending for empire ſeems to have been equal. The ſame greatneſs of ſoul, in forming as well as in executing projects, was conſpicuous in both. The Carthaginians were certainly ſuperior in their knowledge of naval affairs; their ſkill in building ſhips; their addreſs and ability in working them; the experience of their pilots; their knowledge of the coaſts, creeks, roads, and winds; and laſtly, their inexhauſtible fund of riches, which aroſe from their commerce. The Romans were poſſeſſed of none of theſe advantages; but the want of them was more than ſupplied by their invincible valour, their zeal for the public good, their love of their country, and their inſatiable thirſt of praiſe, that made them bravely undertake the moſt hazardous enterprizes, and firmly bear up againſt the greateſt miſfortunes.

It is ſurpriſing to ſee a people, ſo little acquainted with, or rather ſo totally inexperienced in naval affairs, not only make head againſt the moſt expert and moſt powerful nation of the world at ſea, but even gain many ſignal victories over them. No difficulties, no diſappointments, were capable of diſcouraging them. They loſt in the courſe of this firſt Punic war,  
either



either in battles or by storms, seven hundred galleys. The constancy of the Romans may be easily known from hence. They certainly would not have accepted of a peace in the same circumstances, in which we have just seen the Carthaginians request it. A single unfortunate campaign discourages the latter; many do not shake the resolution of the former.

As to the soldiers, there is no comparison between those of Rome and those of Carthage; the first being infinitely superior to the latter in bravery. As to the generals, Hamilcar, surnamed Barcas, was undoubtedly the most distinguished, both by his valour and conduct. During all this war, no general has appeared on the side of the Romans, whose extraordinary talents can be considered as the cause of victory; so that it was solely by the constitution of the state, and, if we may say so, by her national virtues, that Rome triumphed over Carthage.

THE war being ended between the Carthaginians and Romans, a profound peace ensued, and, in about six years after, the temple of Janus was shut for the second time since the foundation of the city. The Romans being now in friendship with all the world, began to turn their attention towards the arts of peace; and they particularly applied to the study of poetry, the first liberal art which rises in every civilized nation, and the first also that decays. Horace tells us, that the first dramatic entertainments of the Romans took their rise from the rude jests that passed between the peasants at celebrating their harvest homes. These were followed by a kind of sports, called Fescennini, in which a set of debauched actors invented their own parts, and where raillery and obscenity supplied the place of humour. After these came tragedy and comedy, which were borrowed from the Greeks: indeed the first dramatic poet of Rome, whose name was Livius Andronicus, was by birth a Grecian. His example was followed above five years by Nævius, a native of Campania, who was the first Roman that attempted the drama. From that time forward they laboured upon the Grecian model; and though they were never able to rival their masters in this kind of poetry, they yet equalled, and even excelled them in many others of an equally pleasing and still more instructive nature. This was particularly the case with regard to elegy, pastorals, and didactic compositions; and as to satire, it was a kind of poetry entirely of their own invention, and which they carried at the same time to such a degree of perfection, as, in the opinion of the best judges, to remain unrivalled in it even to this day.

INTENT, however, as the Romans now were upon improving themselves in the arts of peace, they were not unmindful of the art of war, which had hitherto been their only, and still continued to be their principal profession; and the first people that provoked them to resume their arms were the Illyrians, a nation inhabiting that part of Europe which is now called Dalmatia. This people having committed depredations upon some of the trading subjects of Rome, ambassadors were sent to demand satisfaction; but Teuta, queen of the country, was so far from complying with the request, that she even caused one of the ambassadors to be put to death. To revenge such a barbarous deed, which was at once an injury and insult, the Romans declared war against her, and soon reduced her to such extremity, that she was glad to agree to a peace upon condition of yielding up to the Romans the greatest part of her territories, paying a tribute for the rest, and engaging not to sail beyond the river Lissus with more than two barks, and those too unarmed.

THE next people, that drew upon them the resentment of the Romans, were the Gauls. These barbarians, imagining that the Romans either had made, or intended to make encroachments on their territories, poured into Italy, to the number of fifty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse; and laying all waste around them with fire and sword, advanced to within three days journey of Rome. They were there met by two armies, commanded by the consuls and a prætor; and being thus surrounded on all hands, and suddenly attacked, they suffered a total and most terrible overthrow: forty thousand of them were left dead upon the field, and about ten thousand taken prisoners. Soon after, another victory was gained over the same enemy, by Claudius Marcellus, who killed their king, Viridomarus, with his own hand, and thus obtained the *spolia opima*, or regal spoils, the third that had been acquired since the foundation of the city.

AT this period the secular games were celebrated for the third time. They continued three days. On the first, after the people had been at the capitol to offer the victims, they returned to the Campus Martius, where they solemnized games in honour of Apollo and Diana. On the second, the noble matrons, at a certain hour, went to the capitol, and sung hymns in honour of Jupiter. On the third, which was the last day of the entertainment, twenty-seven young boys, and as many girls, sung, in the temple of Pallatine Apollo, hymns and verses, in Greek and Latin, to implore the protection of those deities, in whose honour these sacrifices were particularly



lady instituted, for the city of Rome. It may not be improper to observe, that the famous secular poem of Horace was composed for this last day, in the secular games celebrated by Augustus.

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## C H A P. XVI.

*From the Beginning of the SECOND PUNIC WAR, to the End of it.*

[ANN. ROM. 535.]

THE Carthaginians had concluded a peace with the Romans, not from any conviction of the equity of the terms upon which it was granted, but merely from an inability to carry on the war. As soon, therefore, as they were in a condition to resume their arms, they eagerly did so, and that too with the greater alacrity in consequence of the advice that was given them by Hannibal.

This man seemed to possess an hereditary antipathy to the Romans; for his father, Hamilcar, had carried him to the altar when but seven years of age, and made him take an oath that he would never be in friendship with the Romans, but would embrace every opportunity of revenging the losses and disgraces they had brought upon his country. To gratify this, which seemed to be his ruling passion, he now used all his influence to make the Carthaginians take up arms, and having gained his point, he instantly laid siege to Saguntum in Spain, which was then in alliance with the Romans.

THE Romans sent ambassadors to Carthage, to complain of this infraction of the peace; and not being able to obtain any redress, they forthwith declared war against the Carthaginians, who, in return, denounced hostilities against them. This is one of the most memorable wars to be found in history, whether we consider the strength and resources of the two states, which were certainly then the most powerful in the world; the abilities of the generals on both sides, by whom it was carried on; the variety of fortune, with which it was attended; and the final termination of it, which was in favour of that people, who seemed at one time to be nearest to destruction; for Rome was certainly in greater danger

danger after the battle of Cannæ, than ever Carthage was during the continuance of this war.

HANNIBAL having taken Saguntum before the Romans could come to its relief, resolvèd to carry the war into Italy itself, and thus surprize and overwhelm the enemy by the boldness of his enterprizes. Accordingly having crossed the Pyrenean mountains with an army of fifty thousand foot and nine thousand horse, and traversed Gaul, which was then a very wild and uncultivated country, he came to the foot of the Alps. These he instantly determined to pass, notwithstanding it was the beginning of winter. This was looked upon as an impracticable project; but nothing was impossible to a man of Hannibal's genius; for perhaps he possessed in his own person a greater assemblage of those qualities that go to the forming of a hardy soldier and skilful general than ever was attained by any other person.

On his first appearance in the field, he instantly engaged the love and affection of all the soldiers. The veterans in particular thought they saw revived in him the very picture and image of their old general, Hamilcar; the same features, the same martial vigour, the same vivacity of look.

BUT this bodily resemblance of his father soon became the least circumstance that rivetted him in the good will of the army. No one excelled, or even equalled him in obeying his superiors; nor in commanding those who were below him. So that it was difficult to say, whether the generals or the soldiers loved him most. If any enterprize was to be executed, that required courage, Hannibal was the man pitched upon for the purpose; the soldiers were never so confident of success as when they fought under his direction. None had more bravery in encountering danger; none more dexterity in delivering himself from it. No fatigue could exhaust his body; no misfortune depress his mind. Equally patient of heat and of cold, he took food only to support nature, not to gratify the caprices of taste. He knew no distinction of night and day for his hours of labour or rest; the greatest part of his time he employed in business; the rest he gave to repose: and then he sought neither a soft bed, nor freedom from noise, to procure a sound sleep. He was often seen in a soldier's cassock, lying upon the ground amongst the sentinels, and at the places where the guards were posted. He was at once the best foot soldier and the best horseman in the army. He was always the first that advanced to battle, and the last that returned from it.

UNDER the conduct of such a general, his men believed themselves capable of achieving any enterprize, however difficult



difficult, and seemingly unfurmountable, and they therefore resolved to follow his directions in forcing their way into Italy, even over those mountains, whose heads were covered with eternal snow, and appeared to be buried in the clouds. Hannibal, however, perceiving some signs of fear and diffidence among many of his soldiers, called them together, and said, "That having to that day confronted the greatest dangers with them, he could not conceive whence could arise the terror, with which they seemed to be seized. That during the many years they had served under his father, under his brother-in-law, Asdrubal, (who had married his sister) and under himself, they had always been victorious. That they had passed the Iberus, with a view to deliver the universe from the tyranny of the Romans, and to extirpate from the earth the very name of that haughty people. That then none of them thought the way too long, though it were to be from one extremity of the world to the other. That now, when they had marched the greatest part of it; had passed the Pyrenees, in the midst of the most savage nations; had passed the Rhone, and stemmed the waves of that rapid river, in sight of so many thousand Gauls, who had in vain disputed the passage with them: now, when they found themselves close to the Alps, of which the side opposite to that before them was part of Italy, they wanted spirit and resolution. What opinion, then, did they form of the Alps! Did they believe them to be any thing but high mountains? That though they were higher than the Pyrenees, there certainly was no land that touched the sky, or was not to be passed by mankind. That it was certain the Alps were inhabited; that they were cultivated, and subsisted men, and other animals, to whom they had given birth."

THE soldiers were so transported with this speech, that they would hardly allow Hannibal time to conclude; but holding up their hands altogether, they declared their fixed resolution of following wherever he thought proper to lead. He accordingly fixed upon the next day for his departure, and then setting out, he began to ascend the mountains, which he did very slowly, and with great difficulty, his progress being interrupted not only by the steepness of the road, but likewise by repeated petty attacks he met with from the mountaineers.

At length, however, he reached the summit, after having encountered and overcome a number of hardships. It was then about the end of October, and abundance of snow had lately fallen, which covered all the roads, and very much troubled and discouraged the soldiers. Hannibal perceived

it; and stopping upon an eminence, from whence all Italy might be seen, he shewed them the fertile countries watered by the Po, where they were almost arrived, adding, that they had now only one slight effort to make; that a battle or two would soon put a period to all their labours, and would enrich them for ever, by making them masters of the capital of the Roman dominions.

THIS discourse, full of such arguable hopes, inspired the troops with fresh alacrity. They accordingly continued their march with tolerable spirit; but met with more difficulty and danger in descending the mountains than they had done in coming up them; for it is to be observed, that the declivity of the Alps is much greater on the side of Italy than on that of Gaul. They could hardly find any thing but broken, crooked, and slippery ways; so that the soldiers could not keep their feet in walking, nor stop themselves when they made a false step, but fell against and threw down one another. In a little time they arrived at a place more difficult than any they had yet passed. The soldiers, though without arms or baggage, were scarce able to get down, by feeling for, and laying hold of the bushes and brambles, that grew there, with their feet and hands. The place was extremely steep of itself, but was rendered more so by a late falling in of the earth, in consequence of which there was a precipice before them of above a thousand feet in depth. Here, therefore, the cavalry stopt short. Hannibal, surprised at their stand, ran thither, and saw, that it was absolutely impossible to go on. He had once some thoughts of taking a long compass; but that was found to be equally impracticable. As some few days before new snow of no great depth had fallen upon the old, the feet, piercing it, supported themselves with ease. But when this new snow was melted, by the passing of the first troops and beasts of burthen, the rest had nothing to march upon but ice, where every thing was slippery; where there was no hold for the feet; and where, in case of the least false step, in which the hands and knees might be necessary for getting up on one's legs, there was no longer either branches or roots to lay hold of. Add to this, that the horses striking the ice hard, in order to keep their footing upon it, plunged their feet into it in such a manner, that they could not draw them out, and continued there as if caught in a gin. It was therefore time to have recourse to some other expedient.

HANNIBAL chose to make his army encamp, and rest itself for some time, upon the summit of this hill, which was broad enough, after the ground was cleared, and the snow removed,



removed, which cost a great deal of pains. A way was afterwards cut by his order through the solid rock, and that work performed with amazing vigour and dispatch. To open and enlarge this way, all the trees round it were cut down, and as fast as that was done, the wood was laid round the rock, after which it was set on fire. Happily the wind was very high, which soon kindled a vast flame, so that the rock itself became as red as the fire around it. Hannibal then, if we may believe Livy, caused vinegar to be poured upon it, which insinuating itself into the clefts of the rock, split it by the force of the fire, and calcined, and softened it. In this manner, taking a compass so as to abridge the declivity, a way was cut along the rock that afforded an easy passage for the troops, baggage, and even elephants. Four days were employed in this work. The beasts of burthen died of hunger; for there was nothing to subsist them on the mountains, which were entirely covered with snow. At length the army arrived at fertile, cultivated places, which supplied the horses with plenty of forage, and the men with all kind of provisions. In this manner Hannibal arrived in Italy, after having spent fifteen days in passing the Alps, and five months in his whole march from Spain to his quitting these mountains. His army was now greatly reduced in its numbers, not amounting to above one half of what it was when he first set out.

As soon as it was known at Rome, that Hannibal was crossing the Alps, Scipio was sent to oppose him. The two armies came in sight of each other near the river Ticinus in Lombardy. Before they engaged, Hannibal thought it necessary to harangue his army; but in order to be the better understood by men of such gross apprehensions, he spoke to their eyes first, before he would address himself to their ears; and did not think of persuading them by reasons, till he had prepared them for it by objects. He gave arms to many of the mountaineers whom he had taken on the Alps, and made them fight two and two in sight of his army; promising liberty and a complete suit of armour, with a war-horse, to such of them as came off victorious. The joy, with which those barbarians ran to fight, on such a condition, gave Hannibal an opportunity of presenting to his troops a more lively picture of their own situations, which, leaving them no means of going back, laid them under an absolute necessity of conquering or dying, in order to avoid the miseries and disgraces prepared for those who should be base enough to yield before the Romans. He set before their eyes the mighty objects they had in view, the conquest of all Italy, and the plunder of Rome itself, by which they would acquire not only im-

menſe wealth, but immortal glory. As to what regarded him perſonally, he ſcorned to compare with a general of only fix months ſtanding, (ſo he ſtilled Scipio) himſelf, who had been almoſt born, at leaſt nurtured and brought up in the tent of his father Hamilcar; who had been conqueror of Spain, of Gaul, of the inhabitants of the Alps, and, what was ſtill more, of the Alps themſelves. He excited their indignation againſt the insolence of the Romans, who had preſumed to demand, that himſelf, and the ſoldiers, who had taken Saguntum, ſhould be delivered up to them; and he inflamed their reſentment againſt the pride of thoſe imperious maſters, who believed that every thing was to yield to them, and that they had a right to preſcribe laws to the whole world.

Scipio ſeems to have entertained too mean an opinion of his antagoniſt. The conſequence was, that he ſuffered a defeat, himſelf being wounded in the action, and even his life expoſed to the moſt imminent danger; but he was ſaved by the bravery of his ſon Scipio, (afterwards the famous Scipio Africanus) who then made his firſt campaign, and was only in the ſeventeenth year of his age. Hannibal, having gained this firſt victory, took the moſt prudent precautions to increaſe his army. With this view, he gave orders to ſpare the poſſeſſions of the Gauls, while depredations were permitted upon thoſe of Rome; and this ſo pleaſed that ſimple people, that they declared for him in great numbers, and flocking to his ſtandard with alacrity.

THE ſecond battle was fought upon the banks of the river Trebia. Hannibal, being apprized of the natural impetuofity of the Romans, of which he availed himſelf in almoſt every engagement, had ſent off a thouſand horſe, each with a foot ſoldier behind, to croſs the river, to ravage the enemy's country, and provoke them to engage. The Romans quickly routed this force, and happy had it been for them if they had been ſatisfied with that advantage. But Flaminius, the conſul, who commanded them, (the other conſul, Scipio, not yet being ſufficiently recovered of his wound to appear in the field) was eager to bring on a general engagement, and diſtinguiſh himſelf by ſome ſignal exploit before the expiration of his office. He accordingly ordered his men to purſue the runaways acroſs the river, which they did; but no ſooner had they arrived upon the oppoſite bank, than they perceived the whole Carthaginian army regularly drawn up, and ready to receive them. The conſequence was ſuch as might have been expected. The Romans were routed at the very firſt onſet. Many of them were killed in the action; more perished in repaſſing



repassing the river; the rest with great difficulty forced their way through the enemy's ranks, and effected their escape to the city of Placentia, which was at no great distance.

HANNIBAL passed the winter in Gallia Cisalpina, where he treated the prisoners of war in a very different manner, according to their being Romans or allies. The former he kept in prison, and scarce allowed them the necessaries of life; whereas he acted with all possible lenity towards the latter. He assembled them one day, and told them, "that he did not come thither to make war upon them, but on the contrary to defend them against the Romans; that therefore, if they understood their own interest, they ought to espouse his cause, as he had passed the Alps with no other view than to restore them to their liberties, and enable them to recover those places, of which the Romans had deprived them. He then sent them home to their respective countries without ransom. This, however, was not done from a spirit of generosity, as he pretended, but with the artful design of detaching them from the Romans, and inducing them to declare in his favour.

It was in the same winter-quarters, that Hannibal employed a very ingenious device to secure his own person. As his army was composed of men picked out of different nations, and who followed him merely from the hopes of plunder, he was justly apprehensive, lest when these hopes began to cease, they might be tempted not only to desert his standard, but even to form designs against his life. To protect himself, therefore, from this imminent danger, he caused dresses to be made for persons of all ages; and wearing sometimes one of these, and sometimes another, disguised himself so frequently and so artfully, that not only those who saw him merely going backwards and forwards, but even his most intimate friends, could hardly distinguish him from any other person.

HANNIBAL knowing that the spirits of his men could only be kept up by a continued series of action, and a succession of victories, determined to go in quest of the Roman army. But this, he plainly saw, could not be done without marching through the marshes of Clusium, which were extremely difficult to pass at all times, but particularly at that period, as they had been lately overflowed by the river Arno. The difficulty, however, of any undertaking, provided it was at all practicable, was only a stronger recommendation to Hannibal. He accordingly entered the marshes; and after spending four days and three nights in crossing them, during which neither he nor his men had an opportunity of taking the least repose,

and he was even deprived of the sight of one of his eyes by a defluxion that fell upon it, he at last reached the other side.

He then employed every art to provoke the Consul Flaminus to a battle; and as this general was naturally of a hot and fiery temper, he was easily drawn into the snare which Hannibal had laid for him. He was tempted to enter a long valley, which lay between the lake Thrasymene and some neighbouring hills; and Hannibal attacking him in that situation, not only put him to flight, but killed fifteen thousand of his men, and took six thousand prisoners: the rest, amounting to about ten thousand, made their escape to Rome. The Consul himself perished in the action.

THE news of this third defeat excited the greatest terror and consternation at Rome; but after the people had, in some measure, recovered their spirits, the senate resolved to create a dictator; and the chance fell upon Fabius Maximus, a man of great courage, with a happy mixture of caution. He knew that the only successful way of opposing the Carthaginians at such a distance from home was rather by harassing than fighting them. Accordingly he always encamped on the highest grounds, inaccessible to the enemy's cavalry. Whenever they moved he watched their motions, straitened their quarters, cut off their provisions, and, without ever coming to a battle, kept them in perpetual alarm. This cautious conduct of Fabius got him the surname of *Cunctator*.

HANNIBAL intending to march for Casinum was by a mistake of his guide conducted to Casilinum near Campania. He there entered a valley surrounded with hills, and Fabius seeing the advantage he had now over him, sent four thousand men to seize the pass, while he himself with the rest of his army took post on the rising grounds on the side of the road. In this difficulty Hannibal had recourse to a very singular, but at the same time a very successful stratagem. He ordered small bundles of wine-branches and other dry wood to be tied to the horns of two thousand oxen, and the bundles being set on fire, he caused the cattle to be driven towards the enemy. These tossing their heads, and running up the sides of the mountains, seemed to fill whole neighbouring forests with fire; while the sentinels that were placed to guard the entry into the defile, seeing such a number of flames advancing towards their post, fled in consternation, imagining that the whole Carthaginian army was coming to attack them. By this stratagem Hannibal drew off his forces, and escaped, though not without loss, part of his rear being attacked and cut off by the Romans.

As



As Fabius had now occasion to return to Rome, he strictly enjoined Minucius Rufus, his master of horse, not to venture an engagement during his absence. Minucius, however, who had a high opinion of his own abilities, was so far from obeying this order, that he attacked a body of the Carthaginians, and gaining some advantage over them, rendered himself thereby so very popular at Rome, that the people gave him an equal authority with the dictator, who was now accused of being too timorous, and even charged with downright cowardice.

MINUCIUS having received, as he imagined, this merited reward of his military talents; resolved to embrace the first opportunity of displaying them in a more signal manner. Accordingly soon after the return of Fabius, he ventured with that part of the army, he commanded, to attack the Carthaginians, but with such bad success, that he was just upon the point of being defeated, when Fabius very seasonably stepped in to his relief, and saved him from the disgrace he had like to have incurred. Minucius, who, though naturally forward and assuming, was by no means deficient in good sense, was so struck with this proof of the superiority of Fabius both in military knowledge and in greatness of mind, that he instantly resigned the high authority with which the people had lately invested him, and returned to his original station of master of the horse.

FABIUS was now obliged to resign his dictatorship, the time for which he had been chosen being expired. He was succeeded in the command of the army by the two new consuls, Æmilius Paulus and Terentius Varro; the former a person of great wisdom, valour, and experience; the latter a rash, headstrong, and inconsiderate man, with nothing but his wealth to recommend him to public favour. Fabius was abundantly sensible of the danger that might arise to the republic from the conduct of two generals of such opposite characters; and he therefore endeavoured, as much as possible, to prevent it by addressing Æmilius in the following terms.

“ If you had a colleague like yourself, which I wish indeed you had; or if yourself were like your colleague, which you certainly are not; it would be in vain for me to speak to you. For two good consuls would not need my advice, in order to their taking proper measures for the advantage of the commonwealth; and two bad generals, far from following my counsels, would not so much as hear. But knowing the difference between you and Varro, I address myself to you only; and I am very much afraid, that as good a citizen, and as able a captain as you are, you will in vain endeavour to sup-  
port

port the commonwealth while it is so ill supported by your colleague. Both the good and bad measures, that are taken, will have the sanction of consular authority. For, do not deceive yourself, *Æmilius*; you must expect to find a no less insuperable bar to your success in the person of *Varro*, than in that of *Hannibal*; and I do not know, whether the former will not prove a more formidable opponent to you than the latter. You will have to do with the one only in the field of battle; but with the latter you will have to struggle at all times and in all places. Against *Hannibal* you will have the support of your legions; *Varro* will attack you with your own soldiers. We know what the imprudence of *Flaminius* has cost the commonwealth. If *Varro* put his design in execution, and give battle, as soon as he sees the enemy, either I am entirely ignorant of the art of war, and know neither *Hannibal* nor the *Carthaginians*, or there will soon be a place in Italy more famous for our defeat than the lake of *Thrasymenus*.

“ I can affirm, without fearing the imputation of vain glory, that the only means for foiling the designs of *Hannibal*, is to pursue the method I observed in making war against him. Nor is this to be judged of by the event, (which is the instructor of fools) but by reason, and which has been, and always will and must be the same, while things continue in the same situation. We are carrying on war in the heart of Italy, in the very bosom of our country. We are surrounded on all sides by our citizens and allies. They assist us with men and horses, with arms and provisions: we have too many proofs of their zeal and fidelity to be capable of entertaining a doubt on that head. We every day become more strong, more prudent, more resolute, and more experienced. *Hannibal*, on the contrary, is in a foreign and a hostile country, separated from his own by great tracts of land and water. He has not a city that will receive him within its walls, nor any fund upon which he can rely. He lives from day to day upon what he can procure by plunder. He has scarce been able to preserve a third part of the troops, with which he crossed the *Iberus*. Famine has destroyed more of them than the sword; and he knows not how to subsist the few that remain. Can it then be doubted, that by protracting the war, we must ruin an enemy that grows weaker every day, and who receives no supplies either of men, money, or provisions. How long has he been dancing about the walls of *Geraunium*, and defending that miserable fortress, as if it were the walls of *Carthage*. But not to propose to you only my own example, you know in what manner the last consuls, *Atilius* and *Servilius*, eluded all his efforts by keeping on the defensive.

“ THIS



“THIS, Paulus Æmilius, is the only method you have of saving the republic. But unhappily you will find greater difficulty from your own people than from the enemy, in putting it in practice. The Romans desire the same thing as the Carthaginians, and Varro is of the same opinion with Hannibal. You therefore singly have two generals to resist, and you will do it effectually, if you know how to despise the idle talk and opinions of men; and if you neither suffer yourself to be dazzled by the vain glory of your colleague, nor terrified by the groundless accusations they will endeavour to bring against you. It is commonly said, that truth may sometimes, and even too frequently suffer an eclipse; but that it is never totally extinguished. To know how to despise glory upon a proper occasion, is the means of acquiring the most solid fame. Suffer your prudence to be called timidity, your wise circumspection slowness and inactivity, and your ability in the art of war incapacity and cowardice. I had rather a wise enemy should fear you, than foolish citizens praise you. Hannibal will despise you, if he sees you venture upon every thing, and fear you, if he sees you do nothing rashly. Upon the whole, I am not for your continuing entirely inactive, but would have all your enterprizes to be guided by reason, and not left to chance. Be always prepared for every event. Be always armed, and ever upon your guard. Never let slip a favourable opportunity, nor ever give the enemy one for taking you by surprize. If you proceed with deliberation, you will see clearly what you are about, and all your undertakings will be crowned with success; but from hurry and confusion ruin must ensue.”

ÆMILIUS, of his own accord, was sufficiently disposed to follow this advice of Fabius, which he plainly perceived to be the best that could be given; and he strictly observed it, as far as depended upon him. On the day, when it fell to his lot to command the army, he studiously avoided every thing that could bring on an engagement. But the case was very different with his colleague Varro, who no sooner, in his turn, received the command of the forces, than he gave the signal for battle; and the event was such as might have been expected.

THE Romans were defeated with the most terrible slaughter: fifty thousand of them were left dead upon the spot; and the number of Knights that perished was so great, that Hannibal is said to have sent to Carthage three bushels of gold rings, taken from the fingers of those of this order. This, which was one of the most terrible defeats that ever the Romans sustained, was called the battle of Cannæ, from a town of that

name in the neighbourhood of which it was fought. Such was the carnage the Carthaginians committed even after the victory was gained, that Hannibal was obliged to restrain their fury, by calling out to them several times, “Stop, soldiers, spare the vanquished.”

ÆMILIUS, though wounded in the beginning of the action, continued for a long time to perform all the duties of a great captain, till at length victory having entirely declared in favour of the Carthaginians, those who had fought around him, abandoned him, and fled; unable to keep his horse any longer, he was forced to dismount. It was in these deplorable circumstances that one Lentulus, a military tribune, flying on horseback from the enemy, who at some distance pursued him, found Æmilius sitting upon a stone all covered over with his blood, and waiting for the coming up of the pursuers. “Æmilius,” cried the generous tribune, “you, at least, are guiltless of this day’s slaughter: take my horse, and fly.” “I thank thee, Lentulus,” cried the dying consul, “all is over; my part is chosen. Go and tell the senate to fortify Rome against the approach of the conqueror. Tell Fabius, that Æmilius, while living, ever remembered his advice; and, now dying, approves it.” While he was yet speaking, the enemy approached; and Lentulus, at some distance, saw the consul expire, feebly fighting in the midst of hundreds. As to the other consul, Varro, he returned to Rome with the shattered remains of the army; and instead of being reproached with his rashness, which had been the real cause of the late calamity, he was solemnly thanked by the senate and people, “for not having despaired of the commonwealth.” Such was the lofty and unconquered spirit of those ancient Romans, that their courage always rose higher in proportion to their distress!

SUCH, however, was the general consternation, that many began to entertain thoughts of abandoning their country, and settling elsewhere. This was particularly the case with some young Romans, who, after the battle, had fled to Canusium, a city of Italy. But Scipio, afterwards surnamed Africanus, being informed of their design, repaired to the house, where they were assembled, and drawing his sword, threatened them all with instant death, unless they would lay aside their inglorious resolution, and take an oath to fight to the last in defence of their country.

ABOUT sixty senators had fallen in the battle of Cannæ; but those that survived, and were now assembled at Rome, behaved, on this occasion, with equal spirit. They instantly resolved to create a dictator, and raise a fresh army. They en-

listed



list all their young men about seventeen years, as also a multitude of slaves who were set at liberty on purpose; and they released debtors upon the express condition of their giving in their names to be enrolled among the troops. Before the slaves enlisted, they were severally asked whether they were willing to serve. They answered *Volo*, that is, I am willing; and hence they got the name of *Volones*. This question was not asked the citizens, because they were obliged to serve. To pay their new levied forces, not only the senators, and knights, but even the very lowest of the people, brought into the treasury all the money they had, and this they did with such alacrity, that the clerks were quite fatigued setting down the names of those who contributed.

HANNIBAL, instead of marching forward directly to Rome, and laying siege to that city, in which case, it is generally supposed, it would have fallen into his hands, turned aside into Campania, and took up his winter quarters at Capua; and as the inhabitants of that place were noted to a proverb for their luxury and dissipation, the Carthaginians could not avoid being corrupted by their example; so that, in a little time, they sunk from an army of hardy warriors into a set of effeminate rakes. This change in the character of his forces produced an equal change in the fortunes of Hannibal. He now became as remarkable for his losses and disappointments as ever he had been for his prosperity and success. The first check he received was at the town of Nola, which he had invested; but Marcellus, the prætor, who commanded the garrison, sallying out upon him, compelled him to return with the loss of two thousand men. He next endeavoured to raise the siege of Capua, which the Romans had blockaded, and he even attacked that people in their trenches, but was repulsed with considerable loss. He at last formed a scheme for besieging Rome itself, to the very walls of which he advanced with his cavalry; but seeing he should be opposed by a superior army, he soon found the necessity of giving over the attempt. His great opponent, in all these enterprizes, was Marcellus, who had lately been raised to the dignity of consul, and who, from his various successes against Hannibal, was usually denominated the sword of Rome, in the same manner as Fabius had been formerly called its buckler. Nor was it only against Hannibal, that Marcellus displayed his military talents. He likewise did so in the siege of Syracuse, which he at last contrived to take, after it had been long defended by the wonderful engines of Archimedes, the geometrician. Marcellus, though he had suffered so much from the ingenuity of this man, was extremely desirous of saving his life. But he

was unhappily cut off in the general massacre that ensued of the inhabitants. He was killed by a Roman soldier, who did not know him, and who found him so deeply engaged in his studies, that he seemed to be insensible of the noise occasioned by the storming of the town. Marcellus was greatly affected when he heard of his death, and, as a proof of his esteem, he caused his body to be honourably interred, and a monument to be erected to his memory.

A LITTLE after, Marcellus himself was killed in an ambuscade that had been laid for him by Hannibal, and into which he had unluckily fallen, to the infinite regret of his countrymen, who justly considered him as one of the greatest generals that ever Rome produced. But this loss was, in some measure, compensated by a similar fate that befel Asdrubal, the Carthaginian general, who was conducting a large army into Italy to the assistance of his brother Hannibal; for being designedly led by the artifice of his guides into a disadvantageous ground, he was suddenly attacked by the two consuls Livius and Nero, who, after a short but obstinate engagement, gave him a most terrible overthrow, putting himself and fifty-six thousand of his men to the sword, taking five thousand four hundred prisoners, and even retaking about four thousand Romans that had fallen into the hands of the enemy. This was the most bloody battle that was fought in the course of this war, and seemed to be some kind of consolation to the Romans for the loss they had sustained at Cannæ. Nero cut off the head of Asdrubal, and threw it into Hannibal's camp, which made that general exclaim, that he considered this as a sure presage of the approaching ruin of his country, and of his own inability finally to prevail against the Romans in Italy.

THE arms of the Romans were no less successful in Spain, than they had been in other quarters. For some time, indeed, the enemy had the advantage. They not only defeated, but even killed the two Roman generals, Cneius and Cornelius Scipio. But young Scipio, afterwards surnamed Africanus, son of Cneius, and nephew of Cornelius, being now appointed to the command in Spain, soon found means to revenge the death of his father and uncle, and retrieve the honour of his country. In a word, he proceeded in his conquests with such rapidity, that, in a little time, he drove the Carthaginians entirely out of Spain, and brought every part of the country under the dominion of the Romans. At the taking of Carthagera, his continence was put to a severe trial, and he gave so striking and amiable a proof of it as deserves to be recorded. Among the prisoners was a young lady of exquisite beauty, betrothed to Allucius, a Celtiberian prince.



prince. Scipio was no sooner informed of this, than he sent for Allucius, and not only restored to him his accomplished bride, but bestowed upon, as a marriage portion, the large sum of money which her relations had brought for her ransom.

UPON his return to Rome he was advanced to the consulship, though only twenty-nine years of age. Being now entrusted with the management of the war against Hannibal, he thought the most honourable as well as the most effectual way of putting an end to it, and driving from Italy so formidable an enemy, was by carrying his arms into Africa, and obliging the Carthaginians to exert their whole force in defending their own capital, instead of threatening that of others. He accordingly went over to that country, with a large fleet and army. The inhabitants of Carthage, alarmed at so unexpected an invasion, sent out Hanno with about five hundred horse to reconnoitre the enemy; but this general advancing too far, was suddenly surrounded by a body of horse, which Scipio had detached, and cut in pieces with his whole party. After this, Scipio ordered Lælius to sail and besiege Utica by sea, whilst he himself marched thither, and invested it by land. Here he was joined by Masinissa, who had been stripped of his dominions by Syphax, and who now reinforced him with his Numidian cavalry. Mean while the Carthaginians exerted themselves with great spirit in assembling an army, which they at last did. It consisted chiefly of horse, and the command of it was given to another Hanno, who is thought to have been one of Hannibal's brothers; but this general engaging unwarily with Scipio, not only lost his life, but twelve thousand of his men were killed, and five thousand taken prisoners. For this loss, however, the Carthaginians were, in some measure, consoled by the arrival of Asdrubal, and soon after of Syphax (the usurper of Numidia), each of them at the head of a large army. Scipio, after worsting both of them in several petty skirmishes, at last formed a design of burning their camps, which, he thought, might be the more easily done, as their tents, he was told, were composed entirely of wood, and covered with nothing but straw or rushes; and the better to amuse them, while he was executing the project, he ordered his fleet to draw nearer to Utica, and placed a small body of troops upon the adjacent hills, as if his sole design had been to take that city by storm. He then commanded Lælius and Masinissa to set fire to Syphax's camp, while he himself advanced, at the head of his troops, to burn that of Asdrubal. In a moment both camps were in a blaze; and the Carthaginians and Numidians were struck with such a panic, that,  
far

far from thinking of fighting, they were glad to escape the flames by a precipitate flight. Scipio took advantage of this opportunity, and falling upon the enemy, while they were yet in confusion, he put forty thousand of them to the sword, and made seven thousand prisoners. In a few months, however, they recruited their armies; but being defeated a second, and even a third time by Scipio, Syphax at last fell into the hands of the Romans. Masinissa now laid siege to Cirta, his capital, and took it. But here he met with a more formidable enemy than either of the generals he had lately engaged; for the sword of a brave man may be opposed or eluded; but the charms of a fine woman are sometimes irresistible. This was particularly the case with the famous Sophonisba, daughter of Asdrubal, and wife of Syphax, and to whom Masinissa himself had formerly paid his addresses. She now inspired that prince with such an ardent passion, that he married her the very day on which she became his captive. To this connection, however, she would not agree, until he had given her a promise, that he would never deliver her into the hands of the Romans. But this was a promise he was not able to keep. Scipio was highly offended at the match, and insisted upon her being sent to Rome among the other prisoners. Masinissa, therefore, not to break his promise entirely to his consort, and at the same time to seem to comply with the desire of Scipio, sent a dose of poison to Sophonisba, which she honourably drank off, and thus saved her own honour and that of her husband. This is certainly a most affecting incident, and has been made the subject of many a fine tragedy.

THE Carthaginians were now so alarmed at the rapid progress of Scipio's arms, that they resolved to recal Hannibal out of Italy in order to oppose him. They accordingly sent deputies to him for that purpose; and with this order he was obliged to comply, though in doing so he seemed almost as unhappy as any other man would have been in being driven into exile from his native country. Upon his arrival at Lep-tis, on the coast of Africa, he set out for Adrumetum, and afterwards for Zama, within five days journey of Carthage. There he had an interview with Scipio; and conscious of the advantage which that general had over him, he would willingly have concluded a peace, had it been possible. With this view he addressed the Roman in the following terms.

“SINCE it is the will of heaven, that after having been the first cause of the present war, and after having had victory so often in my hands, I should be reduced to the necessity of taking the first steps for concluding a peace, I am glad that I have to deal with such a general as you. You have signa-  
lized



lized yourself by many famous exploits ; but it will not be the least glorious circumstance of your life, that Hannibal, to whom the gods have so often granted victory over Roman generals, hath been obliged to give place to you ; and that you have terminated a war, that was rendered memorable by your defeats before it was so by our overthrows. And, what may be considered as a kind of caprice and sport of fortune is, that your father was the first of the Roman generals that I met in arms ; and that I am now come without arms to meet his son, in order to entreat him to grant us a peace.

“ It were to be wished, that the gods had inspired our forefathers with a spirit of moderation, and that you had confined yourselves within the bounds of Italy, and we within those of Africa. For indeed Sicily and Sardinia, of which fortune made you masters, are but small amends for the many considerable fleets, numerous armies, and great captains they have cost us. But let us forget the past, which may be blamed, but cannot be altered. Our successes have hitherto been nearly equal, and by attacking each other in our respective countries, we have run the risk of perishing in our own. Rome has seen Carthaginian armies encamped at her gates and at the foot of her walls ; and we now hear at Carthage the noise of the arms and camp of the Romans.

“ We now treat of peace at a time when you enjoy the smiles of fortune ; that is, at a conjuncture which is as favourable to you as it is unfavourable to us. You and I, who treat of it, are certainly the persons most deeply interested to see it concluded, and possessed of most authority to have it accepted by our respective states. In order to conclude it, we want only a disposition of mind not to retard it. As to me, who return in an advanced age into my country, after having left it almost in my infancy, during so great a space of time, I have learnt from the different successes I have had, to confide more in reason and prudence than in chance and fortune. I am afraid, that you have not the same sentiments ; and that your youth, and the good fortune that has hitherto attended you, inspire you with lofty thoughts, and such as are averse to peace and moderation. Adversity seldom affects the minds of those, who have never been unfortunate. You are at this time, what I was formerly at Thrasymene and Cannæ. You had scarce learnt to obey, when the command of armies was entrusted to you ; and since that you have succeeded beyond your hopes in all the enterprizes you have undertaken. The very calamities of your family you have made conduce to your glory : you have avenged the deaths of your father and uncle, and given the world a shining proof of your valour and piety.

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After having driven four Carthaginian armies out of Spain, you have recovered those provinces, which the Romans had left but a little before. You have been made consul; and at a time when no other general had courage enough to defend Italy, you have been so bold as to come into Africa, where you no sooner arrived, but after having successively defeated two armies, after having burnt and taken two camps at the same instant, after having taken Syphax, the most powerful king of the whole country, and reduced a great number of cities, as well in his dominions as ours, into subjection; you at length have forced me from Italy, after having been in possession of it for fifteen years.

“ You, therefore, may be more allured by the charms of victory than the sweets of peace. I know the character of the Romans: you are more affected with the glorious than the solid. And as to myself, in happier times I was soothed with the same illusions. If with good fortune the gods gave us also right reason and sound understanding, we should think of what may happen hereafter, as well as of what has happened already. Not to propose the example of so many other captains, mine alone may teach you the various revolutions of fortune; me, whom you lately saw encamped between Rome and the Anio, ready to scale the walls of that city. You see me now, after having lost two illustrious brothers, trembling for the fate of Carthage, already almost besieged, and imploring you to spare my country the alarms which I have given yours.

“ THE more fortune smiles upon us, the less ought we to trust her. Now when you enjoy the greatest prosperity, and our condition is doubtful, peace will be glorious to you who give it; whereas to us, who ask it, it will be more advantageous than honourable. A certain peace is better than an uncertain victory. The first depends on you; the other is in the power of the gods. Do not expose yourself to lose in one moment what you have been so many years in acquiring. To prevent your being puffed up with your great strength, consider the extreme inconstancy of fortune, and the uncertainty of battle. There will be arms and men on both sides. In war especially, events least answer the sanguine hopes we are apt to entertain. Victory, supposing it declares for you, will not add so much to the advantages that peace secures you, as bad fortune will diminish them: and a single moment may deprive you, both of all your past acquisitions, and all you may hope for the future. In making peace, Scipio, it is you who decide your own fate: in fighting, the gods will dispose of it. Regulus had been, in the very country where we now are,  
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one of the most glorious examples of valour and good fortune, if, after having overcome our fathers, he had granted them peace. But, by suffering himself to be dazzled by prosperity, and neglecting to make a moderate use of his good fortune, his fall was only the more dreadful in proportion to the height to which he had been raised.

“ I know it properly belongs to him, who grants a peace, to prescribe the conditions of it; but perhaps we may not be thought unworthy of determining the degree of punishment we ought to undergo. We therefore consent, that you remain masters of all the countries, which have given occasion for the war; namely, of Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, and all the islands between Africa and Italy. Confined within the narrow bounds of Africa, we shall see, since it is the will of the gods, the Romans extend their sway, both by sea and land, over many foreign nations.

I ACKNOWLEDGE, that, in consequence of the little sincerity shewn during the truce, and of the steps taken for obtaining peace, the faith of the Carthaginians may be suspected by you. But the observance of a peace depends very much upon the authority of those that conclude it. I am informed, that what principally restrained your senators from granting it to us, was the want of dignity in the ambassadors who went to treat about it. At present, it is Hannibal who asks it, because he thinks it advantageous; and the same advantages that induce him to ask it, will also induce him to keep it. And, as I have always acted in such a manner, as to give no man reason to complain of a war that I had undertaken, till the gods themselves seemed to envy my glory; so neither will I, on the present occasion, suffer any one to have just cause to complain of a peace that I have obtained.”

To this speech Scipio made the following reply. “ I well knew, Hannibal, it was the hope of your return that induced the Carthaginians to break the truce which had lately been made, and to reject the peace, which was upon the point of being concluded. Nor do you yourself deny this, inasmuch as you retrench, from the conditions now offered, all that was at first granted, and leave us only that which has long been in our possession. For the rest, as you have made your countrymen sensible of the load you have taken off their shoulders, it is my part to prevent the advantages they offered to give us by the intended treaty, and which they now refuse, from being the reward of their peridy. Your Carthaginians do not deserve, that the first conditions should be granted them, and they have the impudence to expect that they profit by their treachery. It was not the desire of possessing Sicily  
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that induced our fathers to carry their arms thither; nor was it with a view of conquering Spain, that they went to that country. It was, on one side, the pressing danger of the Mamertines, our allies; and, on the other, the cruel destruction of Saguntum, that justly and equitably armed us. You yourself confess, that you were the aggressors; and the gods have fully attested it, by granting those who had justice on their side, the advantage in the first war, as they now do, and, it is hoped, will continue to do in this.

“As for me, I am neither forgetful of human frailty, nor of the inconstancy of fortune; and I likewise know that our best laid schemes may fail of success. I further admit, that if you had voluntarily quitted Italy before I came to Africa, and had applied to me for an equitable peace, in that case I should not have been able to reject your proposals, without giving you room to accuse me of haughtiness and pride. But as it is against your will, and after a long resistance, that I have forced you to quit your prey, and return to Africa, suffer me to tell you, that I cannot see any reason to induce me to comply with your desire. If, indeed, you have any new conditions to offer beside those you have mentioned, I will consult my council of war about them; but if you have not, we had better put an end to this conference, and prepare for a battle, which alone can decide the controversy between us.”

THEY accordingly returned to their respective camps, and drew up their forces in battle array. Hannibal is said to have marshalled his men in a more masterly manner, than ever he had done upon any former occasion; but notwithstanding all his skill as a general, and his courage as a soldier, in which he was never excelled, and hardly ever equalled by any other officer, he had the misfortune to be defeated with the loss of twenty thousand men killed, and as many taken prisoners. The Carthaginians having now lost all hopes of being able to make any farther resistance, and dreading every moment to see their city besieged, were glad to agree to the conditions of peace prescribed to them by Scipio. These were, that they should be permitted to retain their laws and liberties: that they should possess in Africa the same cities and territories they occupied before the war: that they should give up to the Romans all prisoners and deserters: that they should deliver up all their great ships, except ten galleys, and all the tame elephants they had, and should tame no more for the future: that they should not make war either in Africa or elsewhere, without the consent of the Roman people: that they should restore to Masinissa all that had formerly belonged to him or his ancestors: that they should supply the Roman army with provisions



provisions for three months, and furnish them with pay till the deputies returned from Rome: that, in fifty years, they should pay the Romans ten thousand talents of silver (about fifteen thousand pounds) divided into equal payments, that is two hundred talents every year: that to bind them to the performance of these articles, they should give an hundred hostages, such as the consul should think proper to chuse from among their young men, between the age of fourteen and thirty: that the truce they asked should be granted them, provided the barks they had surpris'd during the first truce were restored to the Romans, together with all that was in them when taken; but that without this restitution, they must not expect either truce or peace. The Carthaginians having no other alternative left than either the acceptance of these articles, or the seeing their city immediately besieged, and perhaps in a little time taken by storm, were glad to agree to them; and thus ended the second Punic war, which had lasted for the space of seventeen years. Scipio, upon his return to Rome, had a magnificent triumph decreed him, and in memory of the war he had so happily concluded, he was honoured with the surname of Africanus.

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## C H A P. XVII.

*From the End of the SECOND PUNIC WAR, to the End of the THIRD, which terminated in the Destruction of CARTHAGE.*

[AN. ROM. 553.]

THE Carthaginians were not the only people, with whom the Romans had lately been at war. They had likewise been so with several other enemies, and particularly with Philip, king of Macedon. That prince had invaded Attica, and ravaged it with fire and sword. He had even attempted to lay siege to Athens, the inhabitants of which were so much alarmed at the danger that threatened them, that they implored the protection of the Romans, who readily undertook their defence. With this view they declared war against Philip; and after defeating him in several engagements, they

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at last reduced him to such extremity, that he was glad to accept of a peace upon the terms that were offered him. These were, that he should withdraw his garrisons from all the cities he possessed in Greece; that he should restore to the Romans all the prisoners and deserters; that he should deliver up to them all his ships (excepting five) and the grand galley, having sixteen banks of oars; and, finally, that he should pay, by way of tribute, a thousand talents, one half down, and the other half in ten years, at the rate of fifty talents a year. The Romans made a generous use of the advantage they had gained upon this occasion: they restored all the Grecian states to the possession of their ancient liberty.

THE next prince that drew upon him the resentment of the Romans, was Antiochus, king of Syria. The first cause, or at least pretence of the quarrel between them, was as follows. Philopater, king of Egypt, having left behind him an only son, who was but five years of age, put him under the protection of the Romans. Antiochus, thinking this a favourable opportunity for extending still farther the limits of his kingdom, began to form a design for stripping the young prince of his territories, and adding them to his own.

THE Egyptians, informed of this wicked project, applied to the Romans for friendly assistance. The senate accordingly sent ambassadors to Antiochus, commanding him not only to lay aside his design, but even to restore those places which he had already taken in Egypt. With this order Antiochus refused to comply, and war, of consequence, was immediately declared against him. But that prince was as remarkable for his indolence and effeminacy, as the Romans were for their spirit and activity. After taking possession of the island of Eubœa, he suffered himself to be so far carried away by his ruling passion, that, though fifty years of age, he fell desperately in love with a young girl, whom he married, and passed the whole winter in pleasure and diversion.

HEARING, however, that the Romans were advancing against him, he suddenly seized the straits of Thermopylæ; but from these he was driven with considerable loss; and retreating thence from one post to another, he at last found himself so hard pressed near the city of Magnesia, that he was under the necessity of drawing up his army in battle array. It amounted to seventy thousand foot and twelve thousand horse. Scipio, who opposed him, had not above half that number. Yet, with great inferiority of force, he easily put Antiochus to flight, killing about fifty thousand of his men, and making fourteen hundred prisoners. Antiochus's chariots, which were armed with scythes, being driven back upon his own men,



men, are supposed very much to have contributed to his overthrow. Being now reduced to the last extremity, he had no other alternative left than to throw himself upon the mercy of the Romans. Peace was accordingly granted him on condition, that he should pay fifteen thousand talents as the expence of the war; should quit all his possessions in Europe, and even those in Asia to the west of Mount Taurus; should give twenty hostages, as a pledge of his fidelity; and deliver up Hannibal, who had taken refuge at his court.

UPON his first arrival there, Hannibal had met with a very favourable reception. He had even been appointed admiral of Antiochus's fleet; but having, in that capacity, lost two naval battles, he began to sink very much in the Syrian's esteem, who not only entertained a meaner opinion of his abilities than he had at first conceived, but even was inclined to suspect his fidelity; as if he meant to betray his interest, and by that means make his peace with the Romans. Upon this occasion, Hannibal is said to have spoke to him as follows. "The hatred, which I bear the Romans, is known to the whole world. I took an oath to that purpose in my most tender infancy. It was this hatred, that has prompted me to draw my sword against them for these thirty-six years and upwards. It was this, even in time of peace, that drove me from my native country, and forced me to seek an asylum in your dominions. For ever guided and fired by this hatred, (should my hopes here be disappointed) I will fly to every part of the globe, and rouse up all nations against the Romans. I hate them; will do so eternally; and know that they regard me with the same detestation. So long as you continue an enemy to the Romans, you may safely rank Hannibal among your firmest friends; but if you are inclined to make peace with them, you must consult other counsellors."

Hannibal, however, finding that he could no longer expect protection of Antiochus, retired from his court to that of Prusias, king of Bithynia. Here he continued for some time; and Prusias engaging in a war against Eumenes, king of Pergamus, was enabled, by Hannibal's means, to gain several victories both by sea and land. Services of so important a nature seemed for ever to secure Hannibal an undisturbed asylum in Prusias's court. But the Romans, with a vindictive spirit unworthy of their character, would not suffer him to be quiet even there. They sent Q. Flaminius, one of their most celebrated generals, to complain to Prusias of the protection he afforded Hannibal. The latter easily guessed the motive of this embassy, and therefore did not wait till his enemies had an opportunity of delivering him up. He at first attempted to

fly; but perceiving that the secret outlets he had contrived in his palace, were all seized by the soldiers of Prusias, who, by this act of treachery, intended to make his court to the Romans, he ordered the poison, he had long kept by him, to be brought, and taking it in his hand: "Let us (said he) free the Romans from a disquietude, with which they have been long tortured, since they have not patience to wait for an old man's death. The victory, which Flaminius gains over a naked, betrayed man, will not do him much honour. This single day will be a lasting testimony of the great degeneracy of the Romans. Their forefathers sent a messenger to Pyrrhus to desire him to be upon his guard against a traitor, who intended to poison him, and that too at a time when Pyrrhus was carrying on a war against them in the very heart of Italy: but their sons have deputed a person of consular dignity to spirit up Prusias to murder me, who is not only his friend but his guest." After calling down curses upon Prusias, and invoking the gods, the protectors and avengers of the sacred rights of hospitality, he swallowed the poison, and expired with the same intrepidity as he had lived. He was then in his seventieth year.

THOUGH the king of Macedon had been overcome by the Romans, he still meditated a new war against them. He had two sons, Perseus and Demetrius. The latter had been given as a hostage to the Romans at the conclusion of the peace between them and his father. During his residence at Rome, he had not only endeared himself to the inhabitants of that city, but had rendered himself so very accomplished, that upon his return to his father's court, which was soon after the overthrow of Antiochus, he was universally regarded by the Macedonians as more worthy of succeeding to the throne than his elder brother Perseus. This naturally excited the jealousy of the latter, who found means to make the old king believe that Demetrius had formed a design against his father's life. Philip therefore caused the young prince to take a dose of poison, of which he expired. But being convinced, after Demetrius's death, of his entire innocence, and of the guilt of Perseus, he judged the latter to be altogether unworthy of succeeding to the throne, and intended to raise to it Antigonus, the son of Dison. Philip's death, however, which happened soon after, broke all his measures; and Perseus being now firmly established on the throne, not only by the death of his brother, but by that of his rival, Antigonus, declared against the Romans. At first he met with some success, having defeated a Roman army on the banks of the river Peneus, and gained an advantage in a naval engagement. But at



last coming to a general action with Æmilius Paulus, son of the famous Paulus, who lost his life at the battle of Cannæ, his army was not only routed, but he was obliged to abandon his kingdom, and flee for refuge to the island of Crete. There, however, he was seized with his wife and children by the Roman admiral, Cneius Octavius, who brought him to the camp of Æmilius. Æmilius, on his return to Rome, had a most magnificent triumph, Perseus and his two sons being led in state before his chariot. This prince, and his two sons, died in captivity. The youngest, named Alexander, acquired some knowledge in the joiner's art. He likewise learned to write a fine hand, and became clerk to an officer in Rome. Such was the wretched destiny of the last successor of Alexander the Great.

BUT all these petty wars were of very little consequence, when compared with that which the Romans now undertook against Carthage. The real cause of this war was the jealousy and ambition of the Romans, who thought they could never be easy, while so powerful a rival existed. They were willing, however, to cover their hostilities with some plausible pretence or other; and the one they made use of on this occasion, was that the Carthaginians had kept ships at sea, contrary to treaty, and had taken up arms against Masinissa, king of Numidia, an ally of the Romans. Masinissa having attacked some nations that were under the protection of the Carthaginians, these had made an inroad into his territories.

MASINISSA making complaints of this at Rome, and the Carthaginian deputies answering them there, the decision of the quarrel was, by appointment of the senate, removed to Africa, where, however, the Carthaginians could obtain no redress. This people, shocked at the injustice which was done them, and fearing that the king might renew his attempts, began to build ships, to fortify their strong holds, and to put themselves into such a warlike posture as to shew, that he should not insult them a second time with impunity. Masinissa growing every day more haughty and daring, began to seize upon a considerable province, belonging to the Carthaginians, and these making fresh complaints on that account to the senate, new commissioners were appointed, with Portus Cato at their head, to go to Africa, and settle the dispute. Upon their arrival, they asked both parties whether they would stand by their determination. Masinissa (as may be supposed) very readily agreed; but the Carthaginians replied that they would certainly stand by it, provided they were put in the quiet possession of the territories, as limited by Scipio.

THE commissioners, therefore, made no decision, but returned to Rome, where they gave an account of the present state of Carthage, its situation, fortifications, and populousness, all of which they greatly exaggerated. Cato especially shewed always great warmth when he talked on the subject, and he concluded every speech he made on the occasion with this remarkable expression; *Delenda est Carthago*—Carthage must be destroyed. And one day, throwing out of the lappet of his robe, in the midst of the senate, some African figs, and the senators admiring their size and beauty; “Know,” says he, “that it is but three days since these figs were gathered: such is the distance between us and the enemy.”

Cato thought, that the Roman grandeur could never be secure till Carthage was entirely rased to the ground, and that as long as that city existed, the Romans would always have a formidable rival. But Scipio Nasica was of a quite contrary opinion. Both he and Cato advanced very specious arguments in support of their different sentiments. Scipio said, that as the people were now become so debauched as openly to indulge themselves in every kind of excess; as their prosperity had inspired them with a pride, which set even the senate at defiance; and as their power was already become so great, as to enable them to force the state into any scheme they liked, however ruinous it might prove to the public; as this, he said, was the case, he was desirous they should still live in fear of Carthage, in order that it might serve as some kind of check upon their unruly passions. For it was his opinion, that the Carthaginians were too weak ever to endanger the safety of Rome; and yet too powerful to be justly considered as an object of contempt. Cato, on the other hand, alledged, that as the Romans were now become rich, and consequently effeminate, and the Carthaginians, from being rich, were become poor, and perhaps in time might acquire the virtue of hardiness, by means of which the former had triumphed over the latter, it was not impossible that the character of the two nations might soon be inverted, and Carthage, in point of courage, might become as much superior to Rome, as ever Rome had been to Carthage. He was, therefore, for the total annihilation of a city, which must ever bear Rome an implacable hatred, and threatened it evidently with the most imminent danger; and his opinion, as being most agreeable to popular prejudices, was immediately adopted.

BUT before they would proceed to the entire destruction of Carthage, the Romans thought it most prudent, at least most decent, that it should be still farther provoked by the war with Masinissa. That prince, accordingly, levied a strong army, as did  
likewise



likewise the Carthaginians, who gave the command of theirs to Asdrubal. When they were just upon the point of coming to an engagement, Scipio arrived in Masinissa's camp; and both parties agreeing to refer the dispute to him, they were seemingly reconciled; notwithstanding which Masinissa's eldest son cut to pieces the greatest part of the Carthaginians, with Asdrubal their general. Rather than give offence to the Romans, the Carthaginians put up even with this cruel outrage. They likewise sent ambassadors to Rome, promising an entire submission to the Romans. These last, however, still persevered in their former resolution of raising Carthage to the ground. Accordingly with this secret view, but under the specious pretence of assisting their ally, the king of Numidia, they declared war against the Carthaginians, and invaded their country with an army of eighty thousand foot and four thousand horse. The Carthaginians were equally surprised and alarmed at this hostile onset, for which, they thought, they had given no occasion. They sent ambassadors to the consuls, complaining of their wanton violation of a peace, which had been so solemnly sworn to, and so religiously observed on their part; and offering to obey the Romans in whatever they should command. Answer was made them, "that the senate of Rome granted them their liberty, the enjoyment of their laws, all their territories, and other possessions, provided that, within thirty days, they should send, as hostages to Lilybæum, three hundred young Carthaginians of the first distinction; and comply with the orders of the consuls."

With these terms, hard as they were, the Carthaginians were obliged to comply. But even with these the Romans were not satisfied. They still continued to rise in their demands. They next insisted, that the Carthaginians should immediately deliver up their arms, for which, they said, they had no farther occasion, as they were now under the protection of the Romans. Even this order the Carthaginians obeyed. They were then told, that they must quit their city, which the Romans were determined to level with the ground, though they were informed, at the same time, that they might build a city in any other part of their territories, provided it were at least ten miles from the sea.

But here the Carthaginians stopt short in their concessions; their patience was now totally exhausted. To this last command they refused to submit. To leave a city that was at once the place of their birth and the seat of their empire, and to have the additional mortification of seeing it raised to the ground, was such a sacrifice as they could not think of making

even to their extreme desire of living at peace with the Romans. They therefore resolved to defend their city to the very last extremity. Though deprived of their arms, they soon contrived to fabricate new ones. The temples, palaces, and public squares were instantly converted into so many arsenals. The men worked incessantly day and night; and the women, no less zealous than the men, parted with their ornaments, and even cut off their hair, to be converted into strings for the bowmen. Asdrubal, who had been lately condemned for opposing the Romans, was now taken from prison to head their army; and such preparations were every where made as discovered in the people a determined resolution to defend themselves to the last.

THE consuls thinking that a city without arms could make no long resistance, were in no hurry to come before it; when they did so, they met with such a reception as convinced them of their mistake. Several battles were fought, and all to the disadvantage of the Romans, till at last Scipio Æmilianus, the adopted grandson of Africanus, arrived in the camp, and took upon him the conduct of the siege; but even he, with all his abilities, would have found it difficult to succeed, had he not contrived to draw over to his side Himilco Phameas, general of the Carthaginian cavalry, who deserted to him with about two thousand horse.

FROM that time forward all his operations were crowned with success. He immediately attacked the city; first made himself master of that part of it called Megara, and then took the Forum, where he beheld a most miserable spectacle; multitudes of the dead, dying, and wounded, lying together in one confused heap. The people had taken refuge in the citadel, where being now deprived of all hopes of relief, they sent a deputation to Scipio, offering to surrender, provided they might be allowed to retire with their lives. This favour was readily granted, and about 50,000 men and women marched out into the fields under the protection of a strong guard.

NOTHING now remained to be subdued but the temple of Æsculapius, where the Roman deserters, to the number of nine hundred men, had shut themselves up, with Asdrubal and his family. The former knew they had no mercy to expect, as indeed they deserved none; and the latter seemed inspired with an heroic resolution of perishing only amidst the ruins of their country. But Asdrubal's love of life overcame his desire of glory. He privately came down, and submitted to the Romans. Scipio instantly shewed him to the deserters, and those were so enraged at the sight, that they set fire to the temple. While the flames were spreading, Asdrubal's wife, who



who appears to have been more courageous than her husband, dressing herself as splendidly as she could, and placing herself with her children in the fight of Scipio, thus exclaimed; "I call not down the curses of heaven upon thee, O Roman; for thou only usest the privilege allowed thee by the laws of war. But may the gods of Carthage, and thou in concert with them, punish, as he deserves, the false wretch, who has betrayed his country, his gods, his wife, and his children." Then turning to Asdrubal, she said, "Perfidious wretch; thou basest of men! This fire will presently consume me and my children: but as to thee, go, as thou now must; adorn the triumph of thy haughty conqueror; and suffer, in the sight of all Rome, the torments thy crimes so justly merit." Thus saying, she snatched up her children, and having cut their throats, and thrown them into the flames, she rushed into them herself, and was immediately followed by all the deserters.

WHEN the news of this conquest were brought to Rome, the people were filled with the most extravagant joy. All men strove who should most zealously express their gratitude to the gods for so signal a favour. The senate deputed some of its members to go to Africa, and assist Scipio in regulating the affairs of that country, and particularly of Carthage, which was ordered to be levelled with the ground. It was accordingly set on fire; and so extensive was it, being twenty-four miles in compass, that it continued burning for the space of seventeen days. It was, indeed, so completely demolished, that travellers are now at a loss to determine where it actually stood. Some think that it was either upon, or very near the spot where now stands Tunis, which is said to be one of the most polished of all the Barbary states.

ALL the cities, which had assisted Carthage in this war, were ordered to share the same fate, and the lands belonging to them were given to the friends and allies of the Romans. The other towns of Africa became tributary to Rome, and were converted into a Roman province, called the Province of Africa, which was governed by an annual prætor; while the numberless prisoners that had been taken in the course of this war, were sold as slaves, with a very few exceptions. Such was the end of one of the most famous cities in the world, the great rival of Rome, with whom she had long maintained a contest for universal empire, and who, at one time, seemed to have as good a chance for obtaining this envied distinction as even Rome herself. Scipio now received the surname of Africanus, being called Africanus the younger, to distinguish him from Africanus the elder, his grandfather by adoption.

Nothing of any consequence happened during the Carthaginian war that we have not mentioned, except the trial of Scipio Africanus the elder, whose great merit and popularity had exposed him to the resentment of the tribunes of the people, always envious of superior worth. They had the presumption to accuse him of having secreted the treasure taken in the war with Antiochus, and of his too close correspondence with that prince. Scipio appeared at the time appointed; but instead of descending to the character of a culprit, he put on his triumphal crown, and addressing himself to the people, said: "On this day I conquered the fierce Hannibal and the Carthaginians in the battle of Zama; let all who love their country attend me to the capital, and return our annual thanks to the gods for so signal a victory." The whole assembly accordingly accompanied him thither, and left the tribunes sitting by themselves an object of contempt, and even of hatred to every feeling mind. They then resolved to accuse him in the senate, and ordered him to bring his accounts to answer to their charge; but far from obeying this command, he tore his accounts before them, and soon after withdrew to Linturnum, a town on the coast of Campania, where he spent the rest of his days in cultivating the arts of peace, and conversing with learned men, particularly with the poet Ennius, for whom he had a great regard. He seems, however, to the last to have been sensible of the bad treatment he met with; for at his death, which happened about three years after, he ordered the following epitaph to be inscribed on his tomb; *Ingrata Patria! ne ossa quidem mea habes*; "Ungrateful country! thou shalt not even possess my bones."

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## C H A P. XVIII.

*From the Destruction of CARTHAGE, to the Beginning of the  
JUGURTHINE WAR.*

[ANN. ROM. 608.]

THE Romans had now acquired such an evident superiority over the rest of the world, that they began to consider all those who dared to oppose their arms, or even to disobey their orders, not as open enemies, but as rebels; and they



they therefore inflicted a punishment upon them, which, in other circumstances, would have been (we do not say inexcusable, for that it would still have continued, but) altogether inexplicable. This was particularly the case with the Corinthians, against whom they now declared war, because they had insulted the Roman ambassadors, who were sent into Greece, to settle some disputes among the different states of the country. Two successive victories were obtained over these people, the first by Metellus, the other by Mummius, who at last took Corinth, and rased it to the ground. Mummius displayed as disinterested a spirit in collecting the spoils of this celebrated city, as he discovered want of taste in estimating their value; for when he was committing the most incomparable paintings, statues, and other works of art to certain persons to carry to Rome, he desired them to be particularly careful not to lose or spoil any of them; for that, if they did, they should be obliged to find new ones at their own charge.

CARTHAGE and Corinth were not the only places that now suffered from the severity of the Romans; Numantia, one of the finest cities of Spain, soon had the misfortune to undergo the same fate. The Roman arms in that part of the world had lately been very unsuccessful. Viriathus, originally a shepherd, and afterwards a robber, and who soon became general of a large body of men like himself, excited great disturbances. He reduced Fabius, the consul, to such extremities, as obliged him to accept of a peace upon very disadvantageous terms. He himself, however, was soon taken off by the treachery of two of his own men, whom Cæpio, the succeeding consul, had bribed for the purpose; a circumstance that drew upon Cæpio no small share of popular odium, and reflected the greatest honour upon Viriathus, as it shewed him to be a man, who, though of the meanest extraction, was so excellent a commander, as to be formidable even to the Romans themselves.

THE spirit of revolt, however, which he had raised, did not die with him. Several of the petty states of Spain threw off their dependance on the Romans; and one of them, in particular, the inhabitants of Segeda, put themselves under the protection of the Numantines. These last sent ambassadors to the consul Metellus, who then commanded in Spain, beseeching him to grant a pardon to the revoltors; and not being able to obtain it, they chose rather to incur the resentment, and even encounter the arms of the Romans, than abandon those who had solicited their assistance. Numantia, in consequence, was immediately invested, and the siege car-

ried on for several years with various success. At last the care of it was committed to Scipio Africanus, the destroyer of Carthage; and he, by his great military talents, soon reduced the enemy to such distress, that seeing no hopes of receiving any, and perhaps expecting little mercy, if they surrendered at discretion, they set fire to the city, and perished amidst the flames.

THE Romans, about this time, were engaged in a war of a very singular nature. This was a war with their own slaves in Sicily. These unhappy men, after having been long oppressed by their cruel masters, broke out into open rebellion, to the number, it is said, of two hundred thousand. They even ventured to meet the regular Roman armies, and defeated them in several engagements. At last, however, they were totally suppressed by the consuls, who reduced them to their former state of subjection.

THE destruction of Carthage, Corinth, and Numantia, having now raised the Romans above all apprehensions of danger from abroad, they began to exercise their animosities against one another; and this they did the more readily, as from a plain, honest, and simple people, they were now become rich, luxurious, and corrupt. Their Asiatic conquests had introduced a deluge of wealth into Rome, which the great had seized chiefly as their own property. The consequence was, that the rich were possessed of immense fortunes: the poor had nothing but a mere pittance; and hence it arose, as it generally does in the like circumstances, the former were proud, haughty, and imperious; the latter restless, factious, and discontented.

In order to remedy this growing evil, and introduce some greater equality of fortune among the citizens of the same state, a plan was formed by the two brothers, Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, grandsons of the elder Scipio Africanus by his daughter Cornelia, one of the most accomplished ladies of Rome, who is said to have had a capital hand in directing the education of her sons, and rendering them the ornament of their age and country. The scheme was first broached by Tiberius Gracchus, who was elder than his brother by about nine years. He proposed the revival of the Licinian law, by which it was prohibited that any one should possess above five hundred acres of land. But willing to prevent the complaints of the rich as much as possible, he took care to propose an additional clause, importing, that none should be obliged to part with the lands they illegally possessed without receiving a compensation from the public.



THE law, however, even thus guarded, gave great offence to the opulent, who therefore employed every art to prevent its passing. With this view they prevailed upon Octavius, the other tribune, to oppose it; and Tiberius, for the present, was obliged to drop his project. In a few days, however, he found means to get Octavius deposed, and Musius substituted in his room. He then renewed his endeavours for passing of the law in more rigorous terms than before. It now decreed, that all those who possessed more lands than the ancient laws allowed, should immediately quit them without mentioning any satisfaction or compensation whatever. In support of this law Tiberius made use of the following strong expressions:—“The wild beasts, that roam in the mountains and forests of Italy, have each their hole and den to retire to; but these brave Romans, who fight and expose their lives for the defence of Italy, enjoy only the light and air of heaven, of which they cannot be deprived, and possess neither house nor cottage to screen them from the severity of the weather. Without homes, without habitations, they wander about in the very heart of their country, with their wives and children, like miserable exiles. Their generals in battle exhort them to fight for the tombs of their fathers and their household gods; and yet amongst all this great multitude of Romans, there is not one who has either a paternal altar or tomb of his ancestors. They go to war and die, only to support the luxury, and to increase the riches of others; and yet some do not blush to call them the lords and masters of the universe, when in reality they have not a single inch of land in their possession.” The law, accordingly, was now passed; and in order to see that it was properly executed, three officers, called *triumviri*, were appointed to examine and determine the quantity of land possessed by every person.

A NEW cause concurred, with the above incident, still farther to inflame the indignation of the senate. Attalus, king of Pergamus, having lately died, had bequeathed his immense riches to the Roman people. Tiberius proposed that the money thus left should be divided among the poor, to enable them to purchase proper utensils, for cultivating the lands which became theirs by the late law of partition. This raised the resentment of the great to a still higher pitch than ever. The senate assembled on the occasion, in order to concert measures for securing these riches to themselves; which they were determined to do, as well as to prevent the execution of the Licinian law, if not by any other means, even by laying violent hands on the tribune. With this view, attended by a large party of their friends and clients, they repaired  
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to a temple in the neighbourhood of the capitol, where Tiberius was then haranguing the people. This place being now full of tumult and confusion, he found it impossible to make himself heard; and having received some previous intimation of the designs of the senate, he lifted his hand to his head, in order to signify to the multitude that his life was in danger. His enemies affecting to misconstrue this innocent gesture, cried out that he publicly demanded a crown. Some of them had already made way for that calumny by alledging, that the person, who brought the will of Attalus to Rome, had delivered the royal purple and diadem to Tiberius, which he had very readily accepted, as intending soon to make use of them himself.

THOUGH nothing could be more false than this accusation, the senate resolved to lay hold of such a favourable opportunity for effecting their bloody purpose. Accordingly issuing out from the temple where they were, they rushed towards the capitol, and entering that place, knocked down all they met. Tiberius now seeing the danger he was in, attempted to fly; but falling over a person already on the ground, Saturninus, one of his colleagues in the tribuneship, who was of the opposite faction, overtook him, and with the foot of a stool beat out his brains. Many of his adherents shared the same fate: about three hundred of them were killed upon the spot, and some of them were afterwards put to death by the forms of law, or were banished from their country. Thus perished, in the flower of his age (for he had but just then attained to his thirtieth year), one of the most illustrious youths, and who, had he lived, would probably have become one of the most accomplished men, that ever appeared in Rome. Perhaps, indeed, the warmth of his temper, and his love of popularity, which is so natural, and when properly regulated, is so commendable, might carry him too far. His conduct, however, at the worst, could only make him an object of pity; but the conduct of the senate rendered them objects of detestation.

CAIUS Gracchus was but twenty-one years of age when Tiberius perished, and consequently was too young either to excite the jealousy of the great, or to induce him to think himself qualified for revenging his brother's death, or carrying into effect the plans he had formed. He therefore continued, for some time, to live in privacy and retirement; but while he seemed to be dead to the world, he was every day improving himself in that art which was most likely to enable him to make a figure in it when he appeared: he was deeply engaged in the study of eloquence; and the first specimens



specimens he gave of his talents in that way were such as at once surprised and alarmed his enemies.

THE first office he stood for was that of questor to the army in Sardinia, which he easily obtained. He there rendered himself so popular among all ranks of men, that when the king of Numidia sent a present of corn to the Romans, he ordered his ambassadors to declare, that it was entirely in compliment to the virtues of Caius Gracchus. The senate, who with their usual pride and jealousy of superior merit, considered the exaltation of his character as a degradation of their own, received the message with scorn, and ordered the ambassadors to be dismissed with contempt as ignorant barbarians. This so enraged Caius, that he left the army, and came to Rome; and offering himself a candidate for the tribuneship, was immediately elected into it, in spite of all the opposition of his enemies.

THE first thing he did in this new office, was to have Popilius, one of the most inveterate of his brother's enemies, cited before the people; but this man, rather than stand the issue of a public trial, chose to go into voluntary banishment. He renewed his brother's law for the division of lands, and caused himself to be appointed one of the triumvirs. He decreed, that the soldiers should be furnished with cloaths by the public, without any deduction from their pay; and that no citizen should be enlisted, till he had attained the age of seventeen. He ordered that corn should be sold at a moderate price, and procured a monthly distribution of it among the poor citizens. He then made an enquiry into the late conduct of the senate; and finding that the whole body had been guilty of bribery, extortion, and the sale of offices, he caused a law to be enacted, transferring the power of judging corrupt magistrates from the senate to the knights, which made a great alteration in the constitution. The Roman citizens were now made to consist of three orders, the senatorian, the equestrian, and plebeian. But what chiefly engaged the attention of Gracchus was the improving of the highways. These he caused to be carried on from the different gates of the city, to a great distance into the country, paving them with hewn stone where necessary, and dividing them into equal spaces, each consisting of a thousand paces. At the end of each of these a stone was erected, on which was inscribed the number of miles it was from the city; and hence the expression so common in Latin authors, *Tertio, quarto, quinto, &c. ab urbe lapide*, that is the third, fourth, or fifth mile from the city. On both sides of the road, likewise, he caused

caused stones to be erected, to assist travellers in getting on horseback; for the use of stirrups was not then known.

IN a word, by these and other means, he became, in a little time, so popular, and consequently so powerful, that the senate began to dread him, even more than they had done his brother; and they therefore resolved to get rid of him in whatever way they could. Convinced, however, that open force was vain, they determined to proceed in a clandestine manner. With this view they contrived to bring over to their side Livius Drusus, one of his colleagues in the tribuneship. This man they persuaded to counteract the designs of Gracchus, not by directly opposing him, but, on the contrary, by seeming to espouse the interest of the people with still greater zeal than even Gracchus himself, and thereby dividing with him, or rather indeed robbing him entirely of the good will of the lower ranks of the community. And this artful scheme proved so successful, that when Gracchus returned from Carthage, whither he had gone to settle a colony, which, however, did not prosper, he found it impossible to get himself re-elected into the tribuneship, though he had been chosen into it the second time without so much as asking it. At the same time he had the mortification to see his mortal enemy, Opimius, advanced to the consulship, out of which he had been kept the preceding year by the interest of Gracchus; so that every thing now turning against him, and in favour of his enemies, he began to be apprehensive for his personal safety.

SUCH, however, was his aversion to disturb the public peace, that he refused to have recourse to any violent measures, even to defend himself from the danger that threatened him. But his friend Fulvius, the tribune, was not so scrupulous, or rather so imprudent. He thought it but reasonable, that the same means should be employed in protecting the life of Gracchus, which his enemies meant to use in taking it away; for it now appeared from the whole conduct of Opimius, that nothing less would satisfy him than the death of Gracchus.

THE first step he took for this purpose was to propose the repeal of most of the laws enacted by Gracchus, and he appointed a day for taking the matter into consideration. When that day arrived, and Opimius was employed in sacrificing according to custom, one of his lictors, taking up the entrails of the beast that was slain, in order to remove them, had the impudence to call out to Fulvius and his party; "Make way, ye factious citizens, for honest men." This insult so enraged them, that they instantly fell upon him, and killed him  
with



with the instruments they used in writing, which they happened then to have in their hands.

THIS murder was considered by the two parties in a very different light. By Opimius and his adherents it was regarded as a most fortunate circumstance, as it would furnish them with a plausible pretence for proceeding to those extremities they had long wished to employ. By Gracchus and his friends, for the very same reason, it was looked upon as a most unlucky incident, as they knew themselves to be altogether incapable of opposing the force which their enemies could bring against them.

GRACCHUS, therefore, highly blamed his party for killing the lictor, which immediately raised such a disturbance, that when he attempted to speak in his own vindication, he could not be heard, and he was, therefore, obliged to retire homeward, and wait the event. As he was going through the Forum, he stopped before a statue that was raised to his father, and regarding it for some time with fixed attention, he at last burst into tears, as if deploring the spirit of the times, and the fate which he saw must soon overtake himself. His followers were no less moved than he, and all of them partaking most sincerely in his sorrow, vowed never to abandon a man who had incurred the displeasure of the great, merely by his zeal for the interest of the people.

In the mean time the senate took every method to alarm the citizens, and increase their apprehensions. They directed the consul to take care that the commonwealth should receive no injury; and by this form they invested him with an absolute and unlimited power. Nor was it long before he began to use it. He commanded the whole body of senators and knights to take arms, and to attend him the next day with their slaves and dependents.

As to Gracchus, he resolved to employ no force in opposing the designs of his enemies. But Fulvius, who saw the absolute necessity for doing so, drew his friends and adherents together, and took post upon Mount Aventine. Gracchus, though conscious of the inferiority of his force, could not think of abandoning his friends in this desperate extremity; and he therefore determined to join them. But just as he was going out of his house, his wife coming up to him, and clasping him in her arms, cried out, “Dearest Gracchus, whither art thou going, and why dost thou leave thy house so early? Dost thou not know, that the rustians, who murdered thy brother, are preparing the same fate for thee; and that thy only defenders are a vile populace, who will desert thee at the least prospect of danger? Remember that Rome is no longer what it was; for

for virtue is totally banished from thence, and every thing there is now governed, not by established laws, but by arbitrary will. Besides, how canst thou trust in the authority of the laws, or even in the justice of the gods; those blind or impotent gods, who permitted thy brother Tiberius to be assassinated?"

GRACCHUS, however strongly moved by her remonstrances, gently disengaged himself from her arms, and went on to Mount Aventine. There he had no sooner arrived, than he learned that a proclamation had been published, offering to any one who should bring either his head, or that of Fulvius, its full weight in gold as a recompence. Willing still, however, to prevent the effusion of Roman blood, he sent two messengers to the senate with proposals of peace, and these being rejected, he intended, it is said, at one time, to have appeared before them in person; but from this he was dissuaded by his friends, who foresaw that his death would be the inevitable consequence.

By this time Opimius had approached Mount Aventine, and falling in among the almost defenceless crowd with irresistible fury, he put no less than three thousand of them to the sword. Fulvius and his son took refuge in a neighbouring cottage, where they were immediately discovered and slain. Gracchus at first retired to the temple of Diana, where he resolved to make away with himself; but being prevented by his friends, he endeavoured to escape to a bridge, in passing which two of his adherents lost their lives in defending him. He then withdrew to a grove on the other side of the Tyber, that was consecrated to the furies; and there being completely surrounded, and finding all hopes of escape cut off, he prevailed upon his slave Philocrates to kill him, who immediately after killed himself, and fell down upon the body of his beloved master. The pursuers soon coming up, cut off the head of Gracchus, and placed it for a while, as a trophy, upon the point of a spear. But Septimuleius, one of Opimius's friends, arriving, took it from them, and having emptied it of the brains, and filled it with lead, presented it to the consul, who rewarded him, as he had promised, with its weight in gold, amounting, it is said, to no less than seventeen pounds.

SUCH was the end of Caius Gracchus, one of the most promising young men, that ever appeared in any age or any nation. His intentions were no doubt innocent, and even virtuous; but the means he employed for accomplishing his designs were certainly imprudent. A perfectly Agrarian law, seems to be impracticable in any state, at least in any large one.



one. A distinction of property, and perhaps even of rank, is necessary in every society. But, at the same time, it may be affirmed, that, if peace and good order can be maintained, the greater the equality that prevails among the citizens in both these respects, the more happy are the people, and the more perfect is the government; as the happiness of the people either is, or ought to be the great end of all kind of government.

WE had almost forgot to observe, that one thing, which contributed greatly to hurt the credit of Gracchus, was the death of his brother-in-law, the famous Scipio Africanus. This man had always been a declared enemy of the Agrarian law; and on the morning of a day, on which it was said he intended to have made a speech against it, he was found dead in his bed. Some thought he was poisoned; others, that he was strangled. But whatever was the manner of his death, it was universally ascribed, either to his wife, Sempronia, the sister of the Gracchi, or to Cornelia, their mother; or to both of them in conjunction: nor was even Caius himself supposed to be innocent. Scipio was one of the most accomplished characters that ever Rome produced, being equally distinguished for his civil and his military talents. He lived in the greatest intimacy with Terence, and is thought to have assisted him in the composition of his comedies.

FOR some years after the death of Gracchus, nothing of any great consequence happened, though it will not be improper to mention slightly some of the most material that occurred. The Sardinians, about this time, raised an insurrection, which was very soon frustrated. About the same period Africa was visited with a dreadful plague, which committed great havoc. It was supposed to be owing to an incredible number of locusts, which spread over the whole country, and destroyed the fruits of the earth. They were then carried by the wind into the Mediterranean sea; and petrifying there, infected the air in a surprising manner. Soon after Metellus, the consul, subdued the Balearic islands, which are now called Majorca and Minorca, and suppressed the pirates, who made them their place of refuge. The Allobroges, who inhabited the country, now called Dauphine in France, and Savoy in Italy, were conquered by Domitius Ænobarbus, and annexed to the empire. Gallia Narbonensis was also reduced into the form of a Roman province. And the Scordisci, a people inhabiting Thrace, though at first successful, were at last driven back into their own country.

## C H A P. XIX.

*From the Beginning of the JUGURTHINE WAR, to the perpetual Dictatorship of SYLLA.*

[ANN. ROM. 631.]

THE Jugurthine war is memorable on many accounts, but on none more than that it first brought to light the great military talents of Marius, who afterwards made so capital a figure, and has been related by Sallust with such strokes of eloquence, as were perhaps never equalled, and certainly never excelled by any other historian. Jugurtha was grandson to Masinissa, king of Numidia, the faithful ally of the Romans. That prince had three sons, Micipsa, Gulussa, and Mastobal, whom he left joint heirs of his dominions; but, by the death of the two latter, Micipsa soon came into the possession of the whole kingdom. Micipsa had two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal; and being charmed with the fine qualities of his nephew Jugurtha, whom his brother Mastobal had by a concubine, he brought him up with his own children, and at his death left him joint heir to his dominions.

BUT the favours which his uncle had so liberally bestowed upon him, instead of filling him with gratitude towards the memory of his benefactor, only inspired him with the criminal desire of making away with his cousins, and thereby rendering himself sole master of the kingdom. Accordingly he contrived, in a little time, to have Hiempsal murdered, and would no doubt have acted the same part by Adherbal, had not that prince found means to escape from Numidia, and repair to Rome, where he implored the protection of the senate. But this was a circumstance that gave Jugurtha little trouble. He well knew the senate was become so venal a body, that money was sufficient to bring them over to any thing. He therefore sent ambassadors to Rome, who distributed their presents with so liberal a hand, that the only punishment inflicted on Jugurtha was the appointing commissioners to make a new division of the kingdom; and these, upon their arrival in Africa, were so effectually gained over to his interest, that they assigned him the best and the largest part of the country.

BUT even with this advantage his ambition was not satisfied. Nothing less would content him than the possession of the whole kingdom. He therefore picked a fresh quarrel with Adherbal,



Adherbal, and besieged him in his capital of Cirta, where that prince being soon reduced to the last extremity, wrote the following letter to the senate. “It is not my fault, fathers, if I seem to trouble you too much by so frequently soliciting your assistance; it is the violence and injustice of Jugurtha, that compel me to it. He is so resolutely bent on my destruction, that he sets both you and the immortal gods at defiance; for nothing will satisfy him but my blood. He has kept me besieged for five months in contempt of the alliance and amity by which I am united with the Roman people. Neither the favours with which my father Micipsa loaded him, nor your decrees, are of any avail to me. I cannot tell whether I am most distressed by arms or by famine. The present state of my affairs prevents my saying more with respect to Jugurtha. I have already experienced the little credit that is given to the complaints of the unfortunate. I plainly see that it is my life only he aims at; he carries his views and designs still higher. He has no hopes of retaining my kingdom and your friendship at the same time; but upon which of these he sets the greatest value may be easily perceived from his whole conduct. He began by killing my brother Hiempsal. He afterwards drove me out of my dominions. But granting that these injuries are confined entirely to us, and are no concern of yours; can the same be said of a kingdom dependent upon you, of which he has possessed himself by force of arms? It is the person, whom you yourselves established king of Numidia, that he now keeps so closely besieged. My present situation is a sufficient proof of the little regard he has for your orders, which you have signified to him by your ambassadors. What then is there that can make him return to his duty but the force of your arms? For as to me, I could rather wish, that the complaints I now make, and have formerly made before you in full senate, were totally groundless, than that I should be able to convince you by my misfortunes, that they are but too well founded. But as I am born to be the sport of Jugurtha’s villainy, I ask no longer, that you would preserve me from misery or from death, but only that you would prevent me from falling into the hands of so cruel an enemy, and that he may not be permitted to degrade me so far, as to inflict upon my body all kinds of torment. Dispose, as you please, of the kingdom of Numidia; that is yours: but extricate me out of the hands of this impious wretch, I conjure you by the majesty of the Roman name, and by all the ties of friendship. If you have any regard for the memory of Masinissa, let it now appear in preserving his grandson.”

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THIS letter made so strong an impression on the minds of the senators, that they immediately sent commissioners into Africa, to command Jugurtha to desist from the siege; but these were soon corrupted by that prince's money in the same manner as their predecessors had been, and returning to Rome without effecting any thing, Jugurtha now pushed on his operations with greater vigour than ever, and having at last compelled Adherbal to surrender, he instantly put him to death.

THIS cruel outrage inflamed the minds of the Romans in general to such a degree, that the senate was obliged, however unwillingly, to declare war against Jugurtha. For some time, however, it was carried on with very little spirit, the generals, and even the inferior officers, being all of them bribed and corrupted by the enemy. This gave occasion to the tribune, Memmius, to address the people in the following terms. "Integrity, said he, is now quite banished from the senate, and justice is no more to be seen in it. Money is become the ruler of Rome; and it has but too frequently appeared, that it is the only deity the nobles adore. These are ready every day to expose their faith and their honour to sale. The glory and interest of the state are now disregarded. The majesty of the empire has been betrayed; the republic has been sold, both in the army and in Rome itself. Opimius, the murderer of Gracchus, and of three thousand citizens with him; that tyrant of his country, whose hands are still red with the blood of the people and their tribunes, has filled them with the gold and silver of Jugurtha. Perhaps the other generals and commissioners are not more innocent.

"WE are told, that the Numidians have given themselves up to the commonwealth; that they have surrendered their strongholds, their forces, and elephants. But let us bring this matter to the test. Let Jugurtha be sent for to Rome. If he has really submitted himself to you, he will obey your orders; but if he refuses to do so, you will then be convinced, that what is called a treaty is nothing but a collusion between that crafty prince and your generals; a treaty that will have procured him an impunity of his crimes; will have filled the pockets of your officers with immense riches, and will have reflected upon the republic the most indelible disgrace."

THE senate now fearing, that their own venality would soon be suspected, and perhaps even discovered, if they did not adopt some vigorous measures, ordered one of the consuls to cross over into Africa with a numerous army; and Jugurtha thinking that the Romans were at length become serious, and  
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that all his arts of bribery and corruption would soon lose their effect, resolved immediately to repair to Rome, in order, if not to justify, at least to apologize for his conduct. But even while there he could not help giving a fresh proof of his daring villainy. There was at that time at Rome a young prince named Massiva, son of Gulussa, and consequently grandson of Masinissa; and as he was a legitimate descendant of that great monarch, and Jugurtha only a spurious one, being the son of a concubine, he had solicited the Romans to place him on the throne of his grandfather. In order to rid himself of so dangerous a rival, Jugurtha contrived to have Massiva made away with in open day, and in the very midst of Rome; an action that filled the senate with such indignation, that they immediately commanded him to depart from Italy. He did so; but could not help, at the same time, exclaiming against the venality of Rome, which, he said, would soon perish, could it but find a purchaser.

FROM this time forward, however, he found the Romans to be less venal than they had hitherto appeared. For Metellus, the consul, being appointed to the command of the army in Africa, not only shewed himself to be proof against all the attempts of Jugurtha to bribe him, but carried on the war with such spirit and success, that he would probably, in a little time, have put an entire end to it, had he not been supplanted by his lieutenant Marius, who contrived to get himself elected consul in his stead. This Marius was one of the greatest captains, and at the same time perhaps one of the worst citizens that ever Rome produced. Being born of poor parents, and brought up like them, he had contracted in his early youth such habits of industry, temperance and frugality, as adhered to him during his whole life, and rendered him, even when advanced to the supreme command, more capable of enduring cold, hunger, fatigue, and all the other hardships and inconveniences of war, than almost any soldier in his army. The nobility did every thing in their power to prevent his being promoted to the consulship; and he, in revenge, took every opportunity of expressing his contempt for persons of their order. This he particularly did in the following speech, which he made to the people upon his being chosen consul.

“I know, Romans,” said he, “that most of those, whom you raise to dignities, behave in a quite different manner after they have obtained them, from what they do while they are soliciting them. At first they appear industrious, suppliant, and modest; but afterwards, as soon as they have gained their point, they abandon themselves to sloth and idleness. In my opinion,

opinion, however, their conduct ought to be quite the reverse. For as the interest of the nation is of infinitely more consequence than either the prætorship or censorship, more care surely ought to be taken in the discharge of public offices than we employ in soliciting them. I am not ignorant how heavy a burthen you have laid upon me in raising me to the consulship. To be constantly engaged in making preparations for war, and at the same time to be frugal of the public money; to oblige persons to enter into the service, to whom, however, we would not give offence; to have the sole direction of all things at home and abroad; and to acquit one's self of these various duties in the midst of open or concealed enemies, is surely a more hard and difficult task, than can well be conceived.

“ To this add still another inconvenience, which is peculiar to myself. If others commit a fault, their ancient nobility, the glorious actions of their ancestors, the credit of their families and relations, their numerous clients and dependents; all these, in a manner, come in to their aid, and protect them from danger: whereas all my resources are in myself, and I have no support but what I can derive from virtue and innocence; for of every thing else I am entirely destitute. I see that the eyes of all men are upon me. The just and judicious favour me, from a thorough conviction, that I have no other aim than the public good; whereas the nobility, on the other hand, take every opportunity to hurt my reputation. This is one reason why I should make new efforts, both to answer your expectations, and to render ineffectual their bad designs.

“ FROM my earliest youth I have been constantly accustomed to danger and fatigue. What I have hitherto done from the mere love of virtue, I ought now more zealously to do from a principle of gratitude, since you have loaded me with your favours; and this is my fixed and determined resolution. It is hard for those, who, to attain dignities, have assumed the mask of virtue, to continue long in that constraint, when their ambition is satisfied. As for me, who have exercised myself in it all my life, I can say, that long habit has in a manner rendered it natural to me. You have charged me with the war against Jugurtha; and this is what gives extreme offence to the nobility. Now I desire, Romans, you will consider with yourselves, whether, instead of the choice you have made, it would be better for you to take, out of that troop of nobility, to fill the office in question, or any other of a like nature, a man of an ancient family, and one who can boast of having borne all the great offices of the state, but without knowledge



knowledge or experience ; in order that, in the conduct of so important a war, perplexed for want of practice, and entirely disconcerted, he may take, out of that very people he despises, a guide and monitor to teach him his duty. And indeed it often happens, that a man, whom you have chosen general to command an army, has more need of another general to command him, and be to him instead of a master. I know some, who, when elected consuls, have begun to read over histories, and to study the art of war in the books of the Greeks. This is manifestly reversing the order of things. For, though they do not command till they have received authority, yet, before they have obtained authority, they ought to learn to command.

“ SUFFER me now, Romans, to compare with these proud nobles your consul, whom they are for lessening with the title of New Man. What they learn from reading and instruction, I have learned by practice and experience. The knowledge they derive from books, I have got by many years of actual service. And now judge on which of the two you should set most value, on actions or on words. They despise the meanness of my birth ; and I that of their valour. I am reproached with the lowness of my fortune ; they with the profligacy of their conduct. But, after all, I know, that all men are of one and the same nature ; and that, consequently, the most worthy are the most noble. And, indeed, could we ask at present the forefathers of Albinus or Calphurnius, whom they would rather chuse to have for sons, those actually descended from them, or me, is it to be doubted but they would answer, that they always desired to have children virtuous, and distinguished for their own merit ?

“ IF they think they have a right to despise me, they must then despise their ancestors, who began their nobility by virtue. They envy my dignity : why don't they also envy my labours, dangers, and the innocence of my life, that are the steps by which I attained it ? These men, blinded by their pride, led such profligate and abandoned lives, as if they despised your honours ; and yet ask them with as much assurance as if they deserved them by the virtue of their conduct. How egregiously mistaken are they to think of uniting in themselves things so incompatible as the pleasures of sloth and the rewards of virtue !

“ WHEN they speak before you, or in the senate, they never forget to celebrate their ancestors, and seem to think, that repeating their glorious exploits, reflects honour on themselves. But the effect produced is directly the reverse. For the more the lives of those great men abounded with noble  
I actions,

actions, the more those of their descendants, if destitute of them, deserve contempt. The glory of ancestors, it must be owned, is a light for their posterity ; but a light that illustrates their vices as well as their virtues. As for me, I cannot boast my ancestors ; but I can repeat my own exploits, which is undoubtedly more glorious. Observe, I beseech you, how unjust they are. They pretend to derive lustre from the merit of others, and will not permit me to derive any from my own, because I have not those ancient statues at home, with which they adorn their houses, and because my glory is recent. But is it not better for a man to be author of his own nobility, than to dishonour that derived from ancestors ? I know, if they should undertake to answer me, they would employ fine words, and make very eloquent harangues. This is a glory I do not pretend to dispute with them. But as, while you take pleasure in doing me honour, they spare no calumnies either against you or me, I thought it incumbent upon me not to hold my tongue, lest my silence should be considered as an acknowledgment of the truth of what they say. For, at bottom, I have nothing to fear, and no discourse can hurt me. If it be true, it can only be to my praise ; and, if false, my actions will refute it.

“ BUT, Romans, as all this is levelled at you, and they presume to blame you for having intrusted to me, first the supreme dignity of the commonwealth, and next the conduct of a very important war ; reflect seriously, I intreat you, whether you have any cause to repent of what you have done. I cannot, to gain your confidence, produce the statues, consulships, and triumphs of my ancestors ; but, if it is necessary, I can set before you military rewards of every kind ; pikes, ensigns, crowns : I can shew you the scars of honourable wounds all received before. These are my statues, these the titles of my nobility, which have not fallen to me by inheritance, as they have to my adversaries ; but which I have acquired by my labours and dangers.

“ You find no order or elegance in my words : that is an art upon which I neither pique myself, nor set a great value. Virtue makes itself sufficiently known by its own intrinsic worth : others may stand in need of fine discourse to cover the infamy of their actions. I have not applied myself to the study of Greek literature, as I found those that did so became not the better men. But what I have learnt, and which is of greater consequence to the republic, is to handle my sword, to keep my post, to attack or defend a place well, to fear nothing but infamy, to suffer cold and heat indifferently, to have no other bed but the earth, and at the same time to support both hunger and fa-  
tigue



figure. And these are things I shall teach my soldiers. I will not let them live in want, while I riot in plenty. I will not assume all glory to myself, while they have nothing but toil and labour. Such ought not to be the manner in which we treat citizens. For a commander to live himself in sloth and luxury, and require rude service and fatigue from the soldier, is to act like a master over slaves, not like a general over fellow citizens. It was by a quite contrary conduct that our ancestors acquired glory to themselves, and did the republic such signal service.

“Now the nobility, after having degenerated from the virtue of their forefathers, despise us, who endeavour to tread in the steps of their ancestors; and exact dignities from you as their right, without taking any pains to deserve them. I repeat it; these men, so proud of their birth, impose strangely upon themselves. Their ancestors left them all that it was possible to transmit, their riches, statues, the glory of their names and great actions: but they have not left them their virtue, nor indeed could they do it; virtue, of all things, being the only one, that can neither be transmitted nor inherited.

“THEY say I live in a coarse manner, without either taste or elegance, because I have no great skill in setting out a table, make no use, at the entertainments I give, of comedians or buffoons; and because I give no more for a slave, that is to be my cook, than for one to work in my field. All this is true, and I freely confess it. I learnt from my father, and other persons of virtue, that ornament is for women, as labour is for men; that men of worth ought rather to aim at glory, than at riches; and that arms confer more honour than the most magnificent robes. As they think quite otherwise, let them follow their own taste. Let them pass their days in drunkenness and debauchery; let them end their lives as they have begun them; and leave to us dust, and sweat, and military fatigues, which we prefer to all their luxury. But they do not act in this manner. After having wallowed in the most shameful excesses, they come to deprive us of the rewards of virtue and valour. Thus, by a strange perversion of things, depravity of manners, which ought to exclude them from all public offices, does them no hurt, and is only fatal to the commonwealth, in giving it unworthy leaders and venal magistrates.

“AFTER having answered my enemies, not so much as their infamous conduct, but as my own character required, I shall add a few words concerning the public affairs. In the first place, then, you may entertain the most rational and well

founded hope of a successful issue to the war in Numidia. You have removed all the obstacles of this wished-for event, and in which the chief strength of Jugurtha consisted; I mean avarice, ignorance, and pride. You have an army in Africa, that is perfectly acquainted with the nature of the country, and possesses all the requisite courage, but which, however, has hitherto met with bad fortune. A great part of the troops have perished by the avarice or temerity of their commanders.

“ You then, who are of a proper age to bear arms, come and join your efforts with mine, and sustain with me the honour of the commonwealth. Do not be discouraged by the memory of past misfortunes, nor fear that your generals will treat you with pride and insolence. After having issued the necessary orders, you shall see me, both in marching, and in battle, sharing with you danger and fatigue. Except in point of command, I shall make no difference between you and myself. You may therefore believe, that, with the assistance of the gods, victory, spoils, and glory await, and even invite you. But though you had not all these motives to prompt you, the interest alone of the commonwealth would suffice to induce good citizens, as you are, to defend it. Cowardice never yet exempted any man from death. Never did father desire that his children should be immortal, but that they should become men of great honour and probity. I should say more on this head, Romans, if words could give bravery to cowards; for as to the valiant, I think I have said enough.”

MARIUS having now got every thing ready for opening the campaign, went over to Africa, and pursuing Jugurtha from one place to another, reduced him to such extremity, that he was obliged to implore the aid of his father-in-law, Bocchus, king of Mauritania. But even the united forces of these two monarchs were unable to make head against Marius, who defeated them both in two great battles, in one of which they are said to have lost above ninety thousand men; and Bocchus, unwilling to risk the loss of his own crown, even in defence of a son-in-law, made proposals of peace to the Romans. Accordingly Sylla, quæstor to Marius, was sent to confer with him; and the only terms the Romans would accept were, that Bocchus should deliver Jugurtha into their hands. Bocchus was at first averse to the committing such a treacherous action; but seeing no other way of saving himself, he at last consented, and having contrived to draw Jugurtha into an ambuscade under pretence of a conference, he immediately seized him, and delivered him up to Sylla. Marius afterwards carried  
him



him to Rome, where he was thrown into prison, and starved to death; an end worthy of his flagitious conduct.

THE next war of any consequence in which the Romans were engaged, was what is usually called the Social war, the occasion of which was as follows. The other states of Italy, in alliance with the Romans, had long solicited the favour of being admitted to the freedom of Rome, and of being permitted to give their votes at the election of magistrates, like the citizens. This favour the Romans refused to grant. But the allies being determined to extort that by force of arms, which they could not obtain by gentle means, broke out into open rebellion; and after a war, which continued for the space of two years, the Romans finding, that, whether conquerors or conquered, their contest would be fatal, at last thought it prudent to give up the point. The allies accordingly were made free of the city, though the senate took care to render this indulgence of very little consequence. Instead of distributing them among the old tribes, in which, by the greatness of their numbers, they would have carried every thing before them, they formed them into eight new tribes; and as these were not to give their votes till all the rest had given theirs, they had very little influence in the public councils.

AFTER the conclusion of the social war, the Romans began to think of turning their arms against Mithridates, king of Pontus, and one of the most powerful princes of Asia. Their reason for attacking him was, that he had invaded the territories of some of the petty kings of Asia, in alliance with the Romans, and had stripped them of their dominions. Both Marius and Sylla aimed at the command of this expedition.

THE character of Marius we have already given. Sylla was a patrician, and sprung from one of the most illustrious families in Rome; was handsome in his person, and engaging in his address, had a noble air and graceful carriage, and possessed such an openness and candour in his whole demeanour, as seemed to bespeak an undisguised soul. Insinuating, persuasive, and eloquent, he had the art of bringing over all men to his own way of thinking. Fond of pleasure, but still fonder of glory, he never indulged himself in gratifying the former appetite to the prejudice of the latter. Though naturally vain, he had the art of concealing this foible, and always spoke of himself in the most modest terms. On the contrary, he was excessively lavish of his encomiums upon others, and still more profuse of his money. He lent willingly to all who applied to him, and even anticipated the wishes of those who were too modest to ask. He never demanded the payment of any debt; and it was commonly said, that he acted in such

a manner, as if he meant to purchase his whole army. Familiar with the common soldiers, he condescended to imitate their vulgar manners; would drink, laugh, and be merry with them, and could easily put up with their coarsest jokes; but he knew, on occasion, how to assume all the stateliness of command. In a word, he was a perfect Proteus, that could transform himself into any shape; but both his virtues and vices were covered with the thickest veil of hypocrisy.

He was a great favourite of the senate, as Marius was of the people, and he was therefore appointed by the former to conduct the war against Mithridates. The people, however, reversed this decree, and transferred the command to Marius; and Cinna, who was then at the head of the army, was so enraged at this affront, that he advanced with his troops to the gates of the city, and entering it sword in hand, threatened immediately to set it on fire if he met with the least opposition. Marius at first endeavoured to oppose him; but finding it impossible to do so effectually, he quitted Rome, and a price being afterwards set upon his head, he was exposed to a variety of adverse fortune. He was obliged to conceal himself in the marshes of Minturnum, where he spent a whole night up to his neck in mud. He was then seized, and conducted to prison, and a Cimbrian slave was sent to dispatch him; but the barbarian had no sooner entered the prison for this purpose, than he was so struck with the awful look of the fallen general, that he threw down his sword, exclaiming, at the same time, that he found himself incapable of executing his orders.

THE governor of the place considering this as a manifest omen in Marius's favour, not only set him at liberty, but even furnished him with a ship to carry him from Italy. Marius afterwards landed in Africa, near Carthage, and went, in a melancholy manner, to place himself among the ruins of that desolated place. In a little time, however, he was ordered by the prætor, who commanded there, to depart. He instantly professed his readiness to obey; but at the same time desired the messenger to acquaint his master, that he had seen Marius sitting among the ruins of Carthage, intending, no doubt, by that comparison, to intimate the greatness of his own fall.

He then went to sea, and spent the winter upon that element; being equally afraid to land any where, as his arrival in those parts was now generally known. At last he received intelligence, that affairs at Rome had taken a turn greatly to his advantage. This was brought about by the activity of Cinna,



Cinna, one of his most zealous adherents, who had lately been elected consul, either through the neglect, or in opposition to the interest of Sylla, who soon after set out for Asia, to carry on the war against Mithridates. Cinna, taking advantage of Sylla's absence, exerted himself with so much spirit, that he soon rendered the party of Marius superior to that of his rival, and recalling that demagogue to Rome, they both entered the city in a hostile manner, and put every one to the sword that had incurred their displeasure.

It would be equally difficult and disgusting to enumerate all the acts of barbarity that were committed on this occasion. We shall content ourselves at present with mentioning a few of the most remarkable. Publius Crassus, after seeing his eldest son killed before his face, thrust himself through with his sword, to avoid being exposed to the indignities he had reason to expect. His second son escaped, and afterwards became the richest and one of the most powerful citizens of Rome. The orator, Marcus Antonius, had found a faithful friend, but one who ruined him by his too great kindness. This was a poor plebeian, who seeing a guest of so much importance in his house, was for entertaining him in the best manner he could. Accordingly he sent his slave to the tavern with orders to buy the best wine he could find. The seller, seeing the slave taste the wine with more care than usual, asked him why his master was become so nice, and was not content with the wine he usually drank. The slave, who thought he was speaking to a friend, discovered the fatal secret; and the perfidious vintner ran immediately to Marius, and told him, that he had it in his power to put Marcus Antonius into his hands. This news was received by Marius with transports of joy; he started up from table, where he then sat at dinner, and proposed going to the place himself. But being restrained by his friends, he was satisfied with sending the military tribune, Annius, with some soldiers, whom he ordered immediately to bring him Antony's head. Annius accordingly undertook the cruel office, and arriving at the place, he staid below himself in order to guard the door, while his men went up stairs to put Antony to death. But upon their entering the room where he was, they were so charmed with the divine strains of eloquence he began to pour forth, that not one of them could think of laying violent hands upon him. At length the tribune began to grow tired of waiting so long; and going up, was surprised to see his soldiers completely disarmed by the eloquence of the man they had come to destroy. But being as insensible himself, to the charms of rhetoric as to the calls of humanity, he cut off the head of Antony with his own hand, and carried

it to Marius. Marius received it with a savage joy; and after feasting his eyes, for some time, with so horrid a spectacle, he returned it to Annius, commanding him immediately to fix it on the rostrum. “Thus upon the very same place, from whence Antony, when consul, had so bravely defended the commonwealth, was fixed that head, to which so many citizens were indebted for their safety.” This is the remark of Cicero, who hardly thought, when making it, that he was only anticipating his own history; nor seemed to think, that a like fate would one day overtake himself, from the grandson of the man, whose misfortune he now deplored.

BESIDE the death of these and a variety of other eminent persons, a dreadful slaughter was made of numbers of citizens of inferior rank. A word from Marius was sufficient to cost any one his life, that happened to come in his way. At length his very silence was considered as a sentence of condemnation; for Ancharius, a senator, having accosted him, and received no answer to his compliment, was instantly put to death. And this, for the future, became an established rule. All who came to salute Marius, and had not their salute returned, were killed by the slaves, that served him as guards; so that his very friends were afraid to approach him.

BUT perhaps it will be more entertaining, it will certainly be improving to the young reader, to be informed of some signal instances of the humane passions that were displayed upon this occasion. Cornutus was saved by the fidelity of his slaves. They first concealed him in a private part of the house; and then taking the dead body of one of those that had been murdered, and putting a ring upon its finger, they hung it up by the neck; and when the blood-hounds of Marius arrived, they shewed them this carcase, which, they said, was the body of their master, who, in despair of being able to elude the vigilance of his enemies, had thus chosen, with his own hands, to put an end to his life. They even went so far as to perform the ceremony of a funeral; and the assassins were so completely blinded by this artifice, that they gave over the pursuit, and Cornutus afterwards escaped into Gaul.

MARIUS had given permission to all the citizens to plunder the houses of those he had killed; but such was the moderation, or rather equity of the people, that not one of them would defile their hands with what they considered as such impious spoils. On the contrary, they regarded the houses of the unfortunate with as much veneration as if they had been the most sacred temples.

BUT the lenity of no one was more remarkable on this melancholy occasion, than was that of Sertorius. Neither  
resentment



resentment nor the pride of victory induced him to offer the least violence nor even insult to the conquered. He even carried his humanity farther. As it proceeded from principle, and not from weakness, it soon changed into a fatal severity against the wicked instruments of Marius's cruelty. Enraged at the excesses and barbarities committed by these savages, he concerted matters with Cinna, who was more tractable than Marius, and having obtained his consent, he attacked the ruffians during night in the camp, where they used to shut themselves up, and killed every one of them, to the number of four thousand.

MARIUS, however, would soon have found other instruments of his cruelty, had he lived; but happily for the world, death put a period to his own life, before he had time to take away the lives of any others. He died about a month after, in the seventieth year of his age. He is even suspected of having hastened his end from a just apprehension of the treatment he had reason to expect had he lived till the arrival of Sylla, who, after having carried on a successful war against Mithridates, and concluded an honourable peace, was now coming home with his victorious army, in order to be revenged of his enemies at Rome. Great, however, as was Sylla's power, nothing could prevent Cinna from attempting to repel his opponent. Being joined by Carbo, now elected consul in the room of Valerius, who had been slain, together with young Marius, who inherited all the abilities and the ambition of his father, he determined to send over part of the forces he had raised in Dalmatia, to oppose Sylla before he entered Italy. Some troops were accordingly embarked; but being dispersed by a storm, the others, that had not yet put to sea, absolutely refused to go. Upon this Cinna, quite furious at their disobedience, rushed forward to persuade them to their duty. In the mean time one of the most mutinous of the soldiers, being struck by an officer, returned the blow, and was apprehended for his crime. This ill-timed severity produced a tumult and a mutiny through the whole army; and while he was employed in appeasing it, he was run through the body by one of the crowd.

SYLLA had now arrived on the sea-shore of Asia, where his army once more bound themselves to him by a fresh obligation. He then embarked, and setting sail with a fair wind, he landed at Brundisium without meeting with the least opposition. While his troops were refreshing themselves there, he was joined by Metellus with a large body of new-levied forces. Marcus Crassus, proscribed by Marius and Cinna, had joined him before, but now left his camp, and re-

turned to it in a little time with a great number of troops he had levied by his own credit and that of his friends; and he afterwards shared with him in all the glories and dangers of the war. But of all the succours which Sylla received on this occasion, none gave him so much pleasure as that brought him by Cneius Pompey, afterwards called Pompey the Great, and at that time scarce twenty-three years of age. His army consisted of three legions; and he had been obliged to fight his way in coming to Sylla, after giving Brutus, a leader in the other party, a complete overthrow. Sylla received Pompey with unusual marks of distinction; and gave him the title of *Imperator*, though he had not yet sat in the senate, and though this title was never bestowed upon any but such generals as had gained a victory. Pompey, being soon after sent for to Rome, demanded the honours of a triumph. But Sylla refused his request, and said, that as he had not yet filled any of the great employments of the state, and was even too young to be admitted into the senate, it did not become him to sue for an honour, which was bestowed upon none but consuls, prætors, or dictators. Pompey turning round to his friends, said with an audible voice, “The sun, at its rising, is always more worshipped, than at its setting.” Sylla, struck with the spirit and boldness of these words, immediately altered his resolution, and cried, “Let him triumph.”

GREAT, however, as was Sylla's popularity, and numerous and respectable as were his friends, he seemed at present to be altogether incapable of coping with his adversaries. His army consisted but of 30,000 men, whereas that of the enemy amounted to no less than 200,000 foot, and a large body of cavalry. As force, therefore, would not do, he resolved to employ stratagem. He proposed an accommodation, and a suspension of arms was agreed on. His men taking advantage of this circumstance, went frequently into the camp of Scipio, the consul, under pretence of visiting their friends, but in reality to corrupt them; and this they did so effectually, that the whole army deserted to Sylla; nor was Scipio informed of his being forsaken and deposed, till a party of the enemy entering his tent, made both him and his son prisoners. Sylla generously gave them their liberty, after having extorted a promise from them, that they would never again bear arms against him. The enemy, however, had still several armies on foot, greatly superior to that of Sylla; and between these and that general, some very desperate and bloody engagements took place, and always to the advantage of the latter. At length young Marius, who had succeeded his father, being  
totally



totally defeated in a great battle, shut himself up in Præneste, which was immediately invested. Several attempts were made to relieve the place; but in a little time, the inhabitants were reduced to such extremities, that they were obliged to surrender, and were all massacred but the women and children. Marius, rather than fall into the hands of his enemies, put an end to his own life. Sylla having now triumphed over all opposition, entered the city at the head of his army; and immediately began those murders and proscriptions, which have ever since rendered him an object of horror to every feeling mind. Six thousand men, who had escaped the general carnage, offered themselves to the conqueror. He ordered them to be put into the Villa Publica, a large house in the Campus Martius; and at the same time convoked the senate. There he spoke with great fluency, and in a manner no way discomposed, of his own exploits; and in the mean time gave private directions, that all those wretches, whom he had confined, should be slain. The senate, amazed at the horrid outcries of the sufferers, at first thought that the city had been given up to plunder; but Sylla, with an unembarrassed countenance, told them, that it was only some criminals who were to be punished by his orders, and that the senate ought not to be uneasy at their fate. The day after, he proscribed forty senators and sixteen hundred knights; and two days after that the like number of senators, with a multitude of the richest citizens.

THE sons and grandsons of the proscribed were declared infamous. He ordained, by a public edict, that all who saved any person specified in the proscription, should themselves be included in it. Such slaves as assassinated their masters were richly recompensed for their treachery and cruelty; and to the disgrace of human nature, children were seen, their hands still reeking with the blood of their fathers, coming to ask a reward for having put them to death. Even the possession of a large estate was now considered as an inextinguishable crime. Quintus Aurelius, a peaceable citizen, who had always lived in a happy obscurity, alike unknown to Marius or Sylla, seeing his name in the proscribed list, could not help exclaiming, that he owed his death to his fine house at Alba. He had not proceeded above a step or two farther, when he was assassinated by a man who had been sent thither for that purpose. In a word, nothing was now heard of but murders and proscriptions; and no man could be sure of his life even for a moment.

BUT Sylla did not confine his cruelty to particular persons. He extended it to cities, and even to whole states. He seized

all the possessions, houses, and territories of such cities, as, during the civil war, had declared for Marius. These he bestowed on his soldiers, and by that means attached them more firmly to his interest. But as these usurpations promised not to be permanent, those who found their account in them, recommended it to Sylla to assume the power and dignity of dictator, in order to give his act the force of laws, and the appearance of justice. Sylla took their advice, and caused himself to be created perpetual dictator; and in this manner the Romans fell again under the dominion of one man, though Sylla, to take away the odium of the deed, had the art to conceal his monarchical power under another name. But the Romans were too sensible not to perceive, that, under old and well known names, a new power had started up in the state, ~~that~~ that was altogether incompatible with freedom.

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## C H A P. XX.

*From the perpetual Dictatorship of SYLLA, to the Triumvirate of CÆSAR, POMPEY, and CRASSUS.*

[ANN. ROM. 672.]

SYLLA being now invested with absolute and unlimited power, proceeded to exercise it in a most tyrannical manner. He changed the form of government as it suited his convenience, abolished old laws, enacted new ones, seized upon the public treasure, and disposed arbitrarily of the estates of his fellow-citizens, the best part of which he gave to Crassus, who thereby became the richest man in Rome. The dictator, who was as kind to his friends as he was cruel to his enemies, took a pleasure in lavishing the treasures of the republic upon those who had followed his fortune; but then he expected from them the most implicit submission. There were some, however, that could not be brought to bend their necks to the yoke that was now imposed upon them; and of this number was Julius, though then but a stripling. Sylla had commanded him to divorce his wife, Cornelia, who was daughter to Cinna; but Cæsar refused to comply, and



and Sylla therefore resolved to proscribe him. But from this cruel resolution he was at last diverted by the remonstrances of Cæsar's friends, who observed, that Sylla could have nothing to fear from one who was so very young. "You may think so," said Sylla; "but I see many Mariuses in that young man;" an observation that shews Sylla to have been a good judge of human characters. Cæsar's friends, however, became so apprehensive for his personal safety, that they compelled him to leave Italy, and he did not return to it till after Sylla's death.

The dictator now proceeded to regulate the civil government. He added three hundred knights to the senate, which had been very much thinned by the late wars; and at the same time he retrenched the power of the knights as a body. He enrolled among the people ten thousand of the slaves of the proscribed, giving them their freedom, calling them *Cornelii* after his own name; and he assigned large tracts of land to the different legions, in order the more strongly to bind them to his interest. He afterwards enacted several laws for restraining the ambition of such as were desirous of rising to the first employments of the state without passing through the inferior ones; and, at the same time, to lessen the authority of the tribunes, he decreed, that whoever had once held that office, should be incapable of possessing any other. Sylla was not equally indulgent to all those who disputed his authority, as he had been to young Cæsar; for when *Lucretius Offella*, who had rendered him the most important services, particularly at the siege of *Præneste*, put up for the consulship contrary to his order, Sylla caused him instantly to be murdered in the Forum.

Rome was engaged in very few foreign transactions during the dictatorship of Sylla. The principal one was a second war with *Mithridates*, occasioned by the ambition of *Murena*, whom Sylla had left as his lieutenant in Asia. *Murena*, eager for the honour of a triumph, contrived to excite a rupture between that prince and the Romans. He had the mortification, however, to see himself at last overcome, and *Mithridates* concluded a fresh peace with the Romans.

SYLLA seemed now to have established his authority upon so firm a foundation, that he might possibly have enjoyed it till his dying day, when, to the surprise of all the world, he laid it down before he had possessed it for the space of three years. This he even did in the presence of the people, whom he offered to make judges of his late conduct, and to submit to whatever sentence they should think proper to give. Having dismissed his lictors, he continued to walk for some time  
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in the Forum, unattended and alone. At the approach of evening, he retired homewards, the people following him all the way in a kind of silent astonishment mixed with respect. Of all that multitude, which he had so often terrified and abused, none was found hardy enough to reproach him, except one young man, who pursued him with insulting language to his own door. Sylla disdained replying to so mean an adversary; but to those who attended him, observed, this fellow's insolence would, for the future, prevent any man from laying down an office of so great power. It is difficult to find out the real reason of Sylla's abdication. His friends ascribed it to his magnanimity; his enemies, to his fear, as if he apprehended, that some bold spirit might one day arise, who, at the hazard of his own life, might deprive the dictator both of his life and of empire. It is an error with historians to ascribe all the public actions of great men to public motives, whereas many of them are owing to private considerations; and it is not improbable that Sylla, feeling the advances of that loathsome and mortal disease, the *morbus pedicularis*, under which he had long laboured, to be so rapid, was willing to descend from his exalted station before he became incapable of discharging the duties annexed to it. Be this as it will, certain it is that he soon after died of that shocking distemper. His body, according to the directions he had left in his will, was burned instead of being buried; and this was probably done to prevent its meeting with the treatment he had given to that of Marius, which he had caused to be dug out of its grave, and thrown into the river Anio. A little before his death he composed his own epitaph, the tenor of which was, That no man had ever exceeded him in doing good to his friends, or harm to his enemies.

THE death of Sylla was no sooner known, than the two factions that had been kept in awe by the terror of his name, began to break out into the most violent excesses. Instead of being restrained, they were not only encouraged, but even headed by the two consuls, Catulus and Lepidus, who were men of directly opposite principles. Lepidus was for annulling all the acts of Sylla, and recalling the exiled Marians; but in this he was opposed by his colleague Catulus, whose father had been condemned to die by Marius, and who was therefore averse to the restoring power to a party, that had proved so fatal to his family. Lepidus, thus finding it impossible to attain his ends by gentle means, resolved to proceed to the utmost extremities. He accordingly retired to his government of Gaul, with intent to raise a force sufficient to overcome all opposition; but the report of his levies and military



litary preparations there gave such umbrage to the senate, that they soon deprived him of his command. Upon this he advanced into Italy at the head of a numerous army; but being met near the Melvian bridge, within two miles of Rome, by Catulus and Pompey, who had been invested with the charge of defending the commonwealth, his forces were not only routed, but he was obliged to fly into Sardinia, where he soon after died of grief.

CESALPINE Gaul, however, still remained in the hands of Brutus, his lieutenant, the father of him, who afterwards conspired against Cæsar; and Pompey was sent to reduce that province. This he soon did, and having taken Brutus in Modena, he caused him to be put to death. But the hopes of their party were not yet extinguished. They had still a zealous and a powerful friend in Spain. This was Sertorius, who had been bred under Marius, and acquired all the virtues of that able soldier, without being infected with any of his vices. He was just, temperate, and brave; and his military knowledge was confessedly superior to that of any other general of his time. Upon the turn of the Marian party, he had fallen into the hands of Sylla, who dismissed him with life, on account of his known moderation; yet soon after repenting of his clemency, he proscribed, and drove him to the necessity of taking refuge in a remote province. He accordingly retired to Spain, where he was joined by all those that escaped the cruelty of Sylla. These he formed into a senate, that gave laws to the whole province; and by his humane behaviour he so gained the hearts of the warlike inhabitants, that he soon found himself at the head of an army, which enabled him, for the space of eight years, to set at defiance the whole power of Rome. Metellus, an old and experienced general, was first sent against him; but was so often worsted by the superior talents of his opponent, that the senate thought it necessary to send their favourite Pompey to his assistance with the best troops of the empire. Sertorius, however, still maintained his ground against both of them, and perhaps would have prevailed in the contest, had he not been treacherously murdered by one of his own lieutenants, named Perpenna, who had lately joined him with the remains of Lepidus's army. But it was not long before the traitor met with the punishment he so richly deserved. Pompey took him prisoner, and put him to death; and this he did notwithstanding the offer Perpenna made him of putting into his hands the papers of Sertorius, by which it would have been easy to discover the correspondence between that general and the principal men at Rome. Far from making an ungenerous use

use of these papers, Pompey would not even read them, but committed them to the flames. And this act of magnanimity, which was no less prudent than magnanimous, tended still farther to increase his reputation.

IN a little time he had an opportunity of gaining fresh popularity by finishing the war against the slaves. This war was excited by one Spartacus, who, in the conduct of it, shewed himself possessed of a degree of courage beyond what could be expected from a man of his low condition. Having escaped from Capua with about seventy of his companions, he exhorted them to sacrifice their lives in support of liberty, rather than in serving as a spectacle to the inhumanity of their masters. They embraced the proposal, and wandering through the country, and increasing their numbers every day, they commenced a dangerous war in Italy. The senate, despising so mean an enemy, sent at first but a few troops, commanded by two prætors, against them, thinking it would degrade the dignity of the commonwealth to oppose the legions to a herd of slaves and vagabonds. But Spartacus cut to pieces all that were sent him; and the senate, enraged at this loss and disgrace, ordered the consuls, each with a considerable army, to take the field against the enemy. The consuls, vainly thinking that a body of slaves would never dare to withstand the legions, began at first to march without order. But Spartacus, taking advantage of this piece of imprudence, made so skilful a choice of his ground, and led on his men with so much bravery, that the Roman soldiers were instantly put to flight. The consuls endeavoured to rally them in the best manner they could, and came to a second engagement, but with as little success as before. The news of these two victories raised the reputation of Spartacus so high, that peasants, slaves, outlaws, and deserters, began to flock to his standard from all quarters, and he soon saw himself at the head of an army 120,000 strong. The senate, beginning to fear even for the fate of Rome itself, sent Crassus, the proconsul of Apulia, to make head against the enemy. Upon the arrival of this general, the face of affairs was immediately changed. Crassus began by restoring discipline among the troops; and these soon found, that, under such a commander, they must either conquer or die. After cutting in pieces about ten thousand of the enemy, whom he surprised while they were foraging, he defeated the main army of Spartacus in a pitched battle. This gladiator, with such of his troops as had escaped the slaughter, attempted to cross over into Sicily; but was invested in his own camp. Finding it impossible to elude the pursuit of the enemy, he re-  
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solved once more to try the issue of a battle. He accordingly drew up his troops in the most masterly manner. A horse being brought him just as the action was going to begin, he drew his sword and killed it; and then turning to his men, said "If I am victorious, I shall not want a horse; if I am not, I do not intend to make use of one." His men, animated by his example, fought like lions. Victory was for a long time doubtful; at length the valour of the legions prevailed; and a cruel slaughter was made of these vagabonds. Spartacus, being wounded in the thigh with a javelin, defended himself bravely on his knees, holding his shield in one hand, and his sword in the other; but being at last covered with wounds, he fell on a heap, either of the Romans whom he had sacrificed to his fury, or of his own soldiers, who had lost their lives in his defence. Such as escaped rallied afterwards, and were all slaughtered by Pompey, who met them in the Alps, as he was returning from Spain. From this action, however, he could claim no great honour, as the slaves were effectually subdued before he encountered them. But as vanity was his ruling passion, he could not refrain, in his letter to the senate, from magnifying the advantage he had lately obtained. "Crassus," said he, "has gained a victory over the slaves, but I have destroyed the very seeds of rebellion." In a word, he wanted to make the people believe, that nothing could be well executed, in which he had not either the principal, or at least a very considerable share; and to say the truth, they were but too apt to be of the same opinion. It was no doubt from persuasion of this kind that they now entrusted him with the conduct of the war against the pirates. These were a set of outlaws, the refuse and outcasts of all nations, who first began to harbour on the coasts of Cilicia, and were originally possessed but of a small number of vessels; but having at length gained the protection of Mithridates, they attained in time to such a degree of power as to keep all the neighbouring states under alarm. They even extended their depredations as far as Italy, into which they ventured to make several incursions, defeated some prætors and other commanders, and carried off an immense booty. In order to repress such troublesome visitors, Pompey was now created admiral, and invested with full power by the tribunes; a circumstance that by no means was agreeable to the senate, who began to be jealous of the growing reputation of this popular general. The people, however, regardless of their displeasure, allowed him 500 ships, 120,000 foot, 5000 horse, 6000 attic talents, and the power of choosing 15 lieutenants out of the senate. But now several members of that  
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body, provoked at the little respect that was shewn to their remonstrances, openly accused Pompey of aspiring to sovereign power, and one of them in particular told him to his face, that since he imitated the pride and haughtiness of Romulus, he might possibly one day meet with his fate. Several other senators likewise harangued the people in order to dissuade them from giving so much power to a single man; but all their remonstrances produced no effect. In this manner the commons, who, on other occasions, were so jealous of their liberty, being now seduced by their tribunes, were running fast into slavery; and Pompey, had he pleased, might easily have made himself master of the government. But, happily for his country, he was more vain than ambitious; and could he have the reputation of being the first man in the state, he never thought of converting his power to his own private advantage. Happily likewise for him, and also for the people, the event of the war against the pirates answered their most sanguine expectations. Pompey watched them so narrowly, and harrassed them so incessantly, that after killing about ten thousand of them, he compelled the rest to submit. This success induced the people not only to perpetuate, but likewise to increase his authority. Manilius, a tribune, and one of his creatures, proposed a law, that all the armies of the Romans, together with the command of all Asia, and the conduct of the war against Mithridates and Tigranes, should be committed to Pompey alone; and this too, although Lucullus, a great general, was at that time invested with the latter command, and had acquired much glory in the management of the war. Pompey was likewise continued in the post of admiral. This was giving him the whole force of the state both by sea and land, and bestowing upon him the real power though not the title of king. The senate, however, did not suffer this law to pass without opposition; but nevertheless it was at last carried. Even Cicero declared in favour of it. In a speech, which he made on the occasion, he said, "That it would not only be for the interest of the commonwealth to have a general invested with so large a power; but that it was absolutely necessary to make choice of Pompey, preferably to any other man, as he was eminently possessed of the four great qualifications requisite in a commander, namely, judgment, bravery, authority, and success; all which he had gloriously displayed in the wonderful exploits he had already performed." It is said, that Cæsar, who had lately been quæstor, approved of this appointment, and chiefly with a view to accustom the people to such supreme authority, when he should come to demand it.

None



None of the senators had the courage to oppose it, but Hortensius and Catulus. The latter even ventured to upbraid the people with their ungenerous treatment of Lucullus ; and at the same time represented to them the many glorious exploits he had achieved in the course of the war. He observed, that this general, by a signal victory, had prevented the city of Cyziceniens from being besieged both by sea and land ; that he had defeated Mithridates several times, and vanquished Tigranes, the most powerful monarch of the east. Perceiving, however, that the people were displeased with his discourse, he turned to the senate, and raising his voice with an air of indignation ; “ Let us leave,” said he, “ fathers, a city that is now going to be delivered up to tyrants ; and let us fly to some desert, where we may preserve the liberty we have received from our ancestors.” But these generous words made no impression on the minds of his hearers. The decree was confirmed by all the tribes ; and the people gave, of their own accord, as great authority to Pompey as ever Sylla had acquired by all his acts of violence.

To justify the good opinion which his friends had conceived of him, he immediately set out for the prosecution of the war. But, to shew his moderation, he began by sending ambassadors to Mithridates with proposals of peace. These, however, the Asiatic prince rejected, in expectation of succours, which he hoped to receive from Phraates, king of the Parthians ; but hearing afterwards, that that prince had concluded a league with the Romans, he sent ambassadors, in his turn, to beg a peace from Pompey. Pompey commanded him to disband his forces, and deliver the deserters that had taken refuge in his army. This was a condition, with which Mithridates could not comply. On the contrary, he fell into a passion when it was communicated to him, and he loudly exclaimed, that he would be at eternal enmity with the Romans on account of their insatiable avarice. Pompey afterwards marched into Galatia, where he had an interview with Lucullus. The two generals at first treated each other with much seeming politeness ; but at last Lucullus, unable any longer to contain his resentment, told Pompey, “ that he never fought to go against any enemies but those who were already enfeebled ; and that like those cowardly birds that fed only on dead carcases, it was his constant custom to make his appearance at the end of every war, in order to reap the benefits of the victories which other generals had gained.” Pompey, exasperated at these reproaches, retorted on Lucullus, “ that he had not so much conquered as laid waste Asia, the riches of which he had appropriated to himself ; that he had  
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made war only for the sake of plunder, and in a piratical manner; that he had indeed gained some victories, but had never compleated any, and had left them unfinished purposely with a view to have an opportunity of soliciting a continuance of his command, and that he might be the better able to carry on his rapines, which had rendered him odious even to his own soldiers." These violent reproaches were altogether unmerited, and the two generals parted with expressions of mutual enmity. Lucullus continued to issue orders in his own name; but Pompey forbidding them by his edicts, annulled all his acts; and at last contrived to draw away from him the greatest part of his army. Lucullus then returned to Rome, where, in spite of the cabals of Pompey and his adherents, he was honoured with a triumph. He brought with him a great number of valuable books, of which he formed a library, that was always at the service of his friends. His triumph was one of the most splendid that had ever been seen. There were exhibited in it, among other things, a statue of Mithridates of solid gold, six feet high; and his shield enriched with a number of precious stones. After this he spent the rest of his time in a private manner, if that indeed could be called private, which attracted the attention of all those around him. The luxuries of his table indeed were not above the extent of his fortune; for that was immense: but they were certainly above the manners of a virtuous Roman; and they were always equally great whether he had company or not. One day that he was without any, his steward caused a supper to be served up, which was less sumptuous than usual. Lucullus finding fault with it, the steward said, that he expected no company. "Do you not know," said his master, "that Lucullus to-night is to sup with Lucullus?" And hence it was that this general contributed more than any other man to corrupt the manners of his countrymen: And indeed this has always been the consequence of introducing the observance of Asiatic manners into Europe. They first corrupted the taste of the Greeks, afterwards that of the Romans; and it is to be wished, that they may not one day corrupt ours.

THE power of Mithridates had been reduced very low by Lucullus before the arrival of Pompey, who no sooner assumed the command of the army, than he continued to pursue him with such unremitted diligence, that he at last compelled him to come to an engagement by night, before he had time to pass the Euphrates. In this action, it is said, that the moon shining from behind the army, lengthened their shadows so much, that the archers of Mithridates shot their  
arrows



arrows at these, mistaking them for the bodies of the enemy. Be this as it will, certain it is, that the Asiatic soldiers could not withstand the force of the European infantry. They immediately took to flight, and were pursued with terrible slaughter. Being thus again overthrown, with the loss of almost all his forces, and finding himself hemmed in on every side by the Romans, he made a desperate effort, at the head of eight hundred horse, to break through them; and thus effected his escape, though with the loss of no less than five hundred of his followers. After this he continued to wander through the vast forests that covered the country, leading his horse in his hand, and subsisting on whatever fruits he happened to find on his way.

At length he had the good fortune to fall in with about three thousand of his soldiers who had escaped the general massacre, and by them was conducted to one of the magazines, where he had deposited his treasures. He then thence took the sum of six thousand talents, (about nine hundred thousand pounds) a supply of infinite service to a fugitive prince. Disappointed on this side, still, however, he would not despair, but fled to Colchis, a state which had formerly owned his authority. Being pursued thither also by Pompey, he retired into Scythia, where he persuaded several of the princes of that country to promise him their assistance by giving them his daughters in marriage. It was here he is said to have formed the scheme of marching into Europe, and, crossing the Alps as Hannibal had done before him, of carrying his arms into Italy, and attacking the Romans in the very center of their empire; but this was too grand and difficult an undertaking to be relished by his soldiers, who immediately deserted him; and the old monarch, being now reduced to despair, after making away with his wives and daughters, put an end to his own life by running upon the sword of one of his officers.

THE death of Mithridates left Pompey at leisure to carry his arms still farther into the east; and after subduing a number of petty princes, he at last advanced into Judæa, where Aristobulus had usurped the government and priesthood from his elder brother Hyrcanus. Pompey restored Hyrcanus to his birth-right, and took Aristobulus with him, to grace his triumph on his return. But while Rome was thus extending her dominions abroad, she was exposed to the most imminent danger from a conspiracy at home. This conspiracy was projected and carried on by Lucius Cataline, a man descended from an illustrious family, endued with great vigour both of body and mind, but of a most vicious and abandoned character.

ter. From his youth he took delight in civil wars, massacres, depredations, and intestine broils; and in these he had spent the best part of his younger days. He was capable of enduring cold, hunger, and fatigue to a degree that is incredible. His spirit was daring, subtle and inconstant. He was thoroughly versed in all the arts of deceit; covetous of the property of others; lavish of his own; violent in his passions; and possessed of a sufficient share of eloquence, but of little or no wisdom. Yet had he the art, when he chose to exert it, of concealing all his vices, and even, on occasion, putting on the appearance of virtue; so that he was able, at first, to engage the esteem of some of the best and most worthy men of Rome. His character, however, at last, was sufficiently known; and he was universally held in the greatest detestation. He was accused of having debauched a vestal virgin; he was suspected of murdering his son, in order to make way for his marriage with an abandoned woman, who refused to accept his hand while the son was alive; and it was notorious that in the proscription of Sylla, he had killed his own brother, the better to pay his court to that tyrant.

CATALINE having contracted a number of debts by his licentious conduct, was resolved to extricate himself from them should it even be by the ruin of his country. His first aim was upon the consulship, in which, had he succeeded, he hoped he should be able to repair his fortune by the plunder of the provinces; but in this he was frustrated. This disgrace so incensed a mind naturally violent, that he instantly entered into an association with Piso and some others, overwhelmed with debts like himself, in which it was resolved to kill the consuls that had been lately elected, with several other senators, and to share the government among themselves. These designs, however, were discovered before they were ripe for execution; and the senate took care to stifle them in their birth. Some time after, he again sued for the consulship, and was again unsuccessful; the great Cicero, who afterwards made so capital a figure, being preferred before him. Enraged at these repeated disappointments, he breathed nothing but vengeance: his design was, had he obtained the consulship, and with it the command of the armies, to have seized upon the government, and caused himself, like Sylla or Marius, to be chosen dictator. At length his impatience became so great, that he could not wait the ripening of his schemes. He therefore formed the mad resolution of usurping the government, though as yet without means that were adequate to the effect. Many of those who were in the former conspiracy of Piso, still remained attached to his interests.



terests. These he assembled to the number of thirty, and after painting in the strongest colours, the power and riches of the great, and the poverty and misery of the poor, he added, with an eloquence worthy of a better cause: "How long, brave and generous men, how long will you suffer such indignities? Is it not better to die with honour, than to be the sport of your equals, and drag out a wretched life in shame, to lose it at length in torment? But wherefore, O ye immortal gods! should I suppose you willing to do so, whilst a happier fate attends you? The victory is in our own hands. We have on our side the vigour of youth and intrepid courage; whereas they have nothing but bodies worn out by years, and enfeebled with luxury. The question is only to begin, the rest will follow of course. What motives can be stronger than yours? For what man, if he deserves that name, and has the spirit of a man, can bear to see their vast superfluity of wealth, their endless profusion in levelling mountains, and inclosing seas, with moles and banks, on which they erect magnificent buildings, whilst we are in want, even of the common necessities of life; whilst they join house to house to form to themselves superb palaces, and we have scarce roofs to shelter us from the cold? They purchase paintings, statues, and plate of great value; they demolish what they have built, and afterwards erect new edifices. In a word, they seem industriously to strive with their riches, and by redoubled efforts to endeavour to annihilate them; yet all is in vain; let them indulge their capricious tastes ever so much, they cannot succeed in exhausting their treasures.

"But as to us, within our houses we find nothing but penury, and abroad meet none but creditors; our present situation extremely melancholy, that before us still more dreadful. In fine, what is there that remains to us, but a miserable existence? Why, therefore, do you not awake? Behold the liberty you have so often deserved; behold it offers itself to you, accompanied with riches, glory, and honours, the sure rewards of victory. Could fortune propose to you any stronger motives? Do not consider so much my words, as the things themselves; the opportunity you have, the dangers you run, the indigence you suffer, the magnificent spoils you are sure to gain; these ought to arouse and animate you. Employ me in whatever you will, either as a general or a soldier. Neither my mind nor body shall be wanting to you. I hope soon, as consul, to execute the projects I now mention, unless I am deceived in my expectation, and you prefer slavery to dominion."

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HAVING, by this speech, brought them all over to his own way of thinking, the plan of their operations, and a day for the execution was fixed. It was resolved that a general insurrection should be raised throughout Italy, the different parts of which were assigned to the different leaders. Rome was to be fired in several places at once; and Cataline, at the head of the army raised in Etruria, was, in the general confusion, to possess himself of the city, and massacre all the senators. Lentulus, one of his profligate assistants, who now stood candidate for the prætorship, was to preside in their general councils: Cethegus, a man of the most noble birth, and descended from an illustrious branch of the Cornelian family, was to direct the massacre in the city; and Cassius was to conduct those who fired it. But the vigilance of Cicero being a great obstruction to the execution of their designs, Cataline was desirous to have him taken off before he left Rome; upon which two knights of the company engaged to kill him the next morning in his bed, in an early visit on pretence. But the meeting no sooner broke up, than Cicero was informed of all that had passed in it; for by means of a woman, named Fulvia, he prevailed on Curius, her lover, and one of the conspirators, to send him a particular of all their deliberations. Having taken proper precautions to guard himself against the designs of the morning, he next resolved to provide for the defence of the city; and assembling the senate, consulted with them what was best to be done at this critical juncture. The first step taken was to offer considerable rewards for further discoveries, and then to prepare for the defence of the state. Cataline, whose impudence was equal to his villany, came boldly into the senate, and attempted to justify his conduct; but Cicero, provoked at his effrontery, broke out into a most violent invective against him; and the speech he made on this occasion is the first of those that are commonly called Cicero's four orations against Cataline. The traitor, now overwhelmed with a consciousness of guilt, and confounded at the frowns of the whole assembly, which he saw directed against him, broke furiously out of the senate, exclaiming, that since he was denied a vindication of himself, and driven headlong by his enemies, he would extinguish the flame which was raised around him, should the consequence prove to be universal ruin. After a short conference with his associates, he left Rome by night, and, with a small retinue, directed his course towards Etruria, where Manlius, one of the conspirators, was raising an army to support him.

IN the mean time Cicero took proper precautions to secure all those of the conspiracy who remained in Rome. Lentulus, Cethegus,



Cethegus, Statilius, and several others, were put into confinement; and Cicero assembled the senate to deliberate concerning the punishment that ought to be inflicted upon them. Silanus, the consul elect, declared for their being put to death; and his opinion was followed by all those who spoke after him, till it came to the turn of Cæsar, when that demagogue, who was supposed himself to wish well to the conspiracy, addressed the assembly in the following terms:

“IT is the duty of all men, conscript fathers, in their deliberations upon subjects of a doubtful nature, to guard themselves against hatred and affection, against pity and revenge. The mind, when clouded with these passions, cannot easily discern the truth; nor has any one ever gratified his own headstrong inclinations, and at the same time answered any valuable purpose. When we exercise our reason, it has sufficient force; but when passion possesses us, it bears sovereign sway, and reason is of no avail. I could produce a great many instances of kings and states pursuing wrong measures, when influenced by resentment or compassion. But I would rather set before you the example of our forefathers, and shew how they acted, in opposition to the impulses of passion, but agreeably to wisdom and sound policy.

“IN the war which we carried on with Perseus, king of Macedonia, Rhodes, a great and flourishing state, which owed all its prosperity to the aid of Rome, proved faithless, and became our enemy. But when the war was ended, and the conduct of the Rhodians came to be taken into consideration, our ancestors pardoned them, that none might say the war had been undertaken more with a view of seizing on their riches, than of punishing their bad conduct. In all the Punic wars too, though the Carthaginians, both in time of peace, and even during a truce, had often insulted us in the most outrageous manner; yet our ancestors never took any opportunity of retaliating; considering more what was worthy of themselves, than what might in justice be done against them.

“IN like manner, conscript fathers, you ought to take care that the wickedness of Lentulus and the rest of the conspirators weigh not more with you, than a regard to your own honour; and that while you gratify your resentment, you do not lose your reputation. If a punishment indeed can be invented adequate to their crimes, I heartily approve of it; but if the enormity of their guilt is such, that human ingenuity cannot find out a chastisement proportioned to it, my opinion is, that we ought to be contented with such as the law has provided.

“ MOST of those, who have spoken before, have, in a pompous and affecting manner, lamented the misfortune of the republic: they have enumerated all the calamities of war, and the many distresses of the conquered; virgins ravished; youths unnaturally abused; children torn from the embraces of their parents; matrons forced to bear the brutal insults of victorious soldiers; temples and private houses plundered; all places filled with flames and slaughter; and nothing to be seen but arms, carcases, blood, and lamentations.

“ BUT, in the name of the immortal gods, to what purpose were such affecting strains? Was it to inspire you with an abhorrence of the conspiracy? as if he, whom so daring and atrocious an attempt cannot move, were to be inflamed by the breath of eloquence. No; this is not the way; nor do injuries appear to any one that suffers them; many stretch them beyond their due size. But, conscript fathers, different allowances are to be made to different men. When such as live in obscurity are prompted by passions to the commission of any crime, there are few who know it; their reputation and fortune being upon a level: but those who are invested with great power, are placed upon an eminence, and their actions viewed by all; and thus, the least allowance is made to the highest dignity. There must be no partiality, no hatred, much less any resentment or animosity in such a station. What passes for passion in others, is considered, in men in power, as pride and cruelty.

“ AS for me, conscript fathers, I look upon all tortures as far short of what these criminals deserve. But most men remember best what happened last; and forgetting the guilt of wicked men, talk only of their punishment, if more severe than ordinary. I am convinced what D. Silanus, that brave and worthy man, said, proceeded from his zeal for the state, and that he was neither biased by partiality nor enmity; such is his integrity and moderation, as I well know. But his proposal appears to me, not indeed cruel, (for against such men what can be cruel?) but contrary to the spirit of our government.

“ SURELY, Silanus, you were urged by fear, or the enormity of the crime, to propose a punishment quite new. How groundless such fear is, it is needless to shew; especially when, by the diligence of so able a consul, such powerful forces are provided for our security. And as to the punishment, we may say, what indeed is the truth, that to those who live in sorrow and misery, death is but a release from trouble; that it is death which puts an end to all the calamities of men, beyond which there is no room either for care or joy. But  
why,



why, in the name of the immortal gods, did you not add to your proposal, that they should be punished with stripes? was it because the Porcian law forbids it? but there are other laws too, which forbid the putting to death a condemned Roman, and allow him the privilege of banishment. Or was it because whipping is a more severe punishment than death? Can any thing be reckoned too cruel or severe against men convicted of such treason? but if stripes are a lighter punishment, how is it reasonable to observe the law in a matter of small concern, and disregard it in one that is of greater.

“BUT you will say, who will find fault with any punishment against traitors to the state? I answer, time may, so may sudden conjunctures; and fortune too, that governs the world at pleasure. Whatever punishment is inflicted on these parricides, will be justly inflicted. But take care, conscript fathers, how your present decrees may affect posterity. All bad precedents spring from good beginnings; but when the administration is in the hands of bad or ignorant men, these precedents, at first just, are transferred from proper and deserving objects, to such as are not so.

“THE Lacedæmonians, when they had conquered the Athenians, placed thirty tyrants over them; who began their power by putting to death, without any trial, such as were remarkably wicked, and universally hated. The people were highly pleased with this, and applauded the justice of such executions. But when they had by degrees established their lawless authority, they wantonly butchered both good and bad without distinction; and thus kept the state in awe. Such was the severe punishment, which the people, oppressed with slavery, suffered for their foolish joy.

“IN our own times, when Sylla, after his success, ordered Damasippus, and others of the like characters, who had raised themselves upon the ruins of their country, to be put to death; who did not commend him for it? All agreed, that such wicked and factious men, who were constantly embroiling the state, deserved such a punishment. Yet this was an introduction to a bloody massacre. For whoever coveted his neighbour's house, either in town or country, nay even any curious piece of plate, or fine raiment, took care to have the possessor of it put into the list of the proscribed.

“THUS they who had rejoiced at the punishment of Damasippus, were soon after dragged to death themselves; nor was an end put to this butchery, till Sylla had glutted all his followers with riches. I do not apprehend any such proceedings from Marcus Cicero, nor from these times. At

another time, and under another consul, who may have an army too at his command, any falsehood may pass for fact; and when, upon this precedent, the consul shall, by a decree of the senate, draw the sword, who is to set bounds to it? who to moderate its fury?

“OUR ancestors, conscript fathers, were never deficient either in courage or conduct; nor did they think it unworthy of them to imitate the customs of other nations, if they were good and useful. From the Samnites they learned the exercise of arms, and borrowed from them their weapons of war; and most of their ensigns of magistracy from the Tuscans: in a word, they were very careful to practise whatever they found useful either among their allies or even their enemies; chusing rather to imitate than envy what was excellent.

“Now in those days, in imitation of the Greeks, they inflicted stripes on guilty citizens, and capital punishments on such as were condemned. But when the commonwealth became great and powerful, and the vast number of citizens gave rise to factions; when the innocent began to be circumvented, and other evils of the like nature to take place; then the Porcian and other laws were made, which provided no higher punishment than exile for the greatest crimes. These considerations, conscript fathers, appear to me of the greatest weight against our embracing any new resolution on this occasion. What! shall we discharge the conspirators, you'll say, to reinforce Catiline's army? By no means; but my opinion is this; that their estates be confiscated; their persons closely confined in the strongest towns of Italy; and that no one move the senate or the people for any favour towards them, under the penalty of being declared by the senate an enemy to the state and to the general welfare.”

THIS artful and plausible harangue made a deep impression upon the minds of the senators; many of them came over to Cæsar's way of thinking, and the criminals were upon the point of escaping with their lives: but this they were effectually prevented from doing by the firmness of Cato, who addressed the senate thus. “I must be of a very different mind, conscript fathers, when I take a view, on the one hand, of our present situation, and the danger that surrounds us, and consider, on the other, the proposals made by some who have spoken before me. They seem to have reasoned only about the punishment due to those who have entered into a conspiracy to make war upon their country, upon their parents, upon religion and private property; whereas our present circumstances warn us rather to guard against them, than to con-  
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sider in what manner we should punish them. You may take vengeance for other crimes, after they are committed; but if you do not prevent the commission of this, it will be in vain for you afterwards to apply to the tribunals. When the city is once taken, nothing remains to the conquered.

“ Now I conjure you, by the immortal gods, you, who have always set a greater value upon your houses, statues, and paintings, than upon the commonwealth; if you would preserve these frivolous things, of which you are so fond; if you wish to have leisure for the indulgence of your pleasure; rouse yourselves at length, and undertake the defence of the republic. The question is not now about the public revenues, nor about the oppressing of our allies: no; our liberties, our lives are in danger.

“ OFTEN, conscript fathers, have I spoke in this house; often have I complained of the luxury and avarice of our fellow citizens; and by that means have drawn upon me the hatred of many persons. I, who never indulge myself in any vice, nor ever even cherish the thought of any, could not easily pardon the vices of others. And though you little regarded my remonstrances, yet the commonwealth remained firm; her native strength supported her, even under the negligence of her governors. But the present debate is not about the goodness or depravity of our morals; nor about the greatness or prosperity of the Roman empire: no; it is whether this empire, such as it is, shall continue our own, or, together with ourselves, fall a prey to the enemy.

“ AND, in such a case, will any one talk to me of gentleness or mercy? We have, indeed, long since lost the true names of things; since to give away the property of others is called generosity; to commit daring crimes is honoured with the appellation of courage; and hence it is, that the republic is reduced to the last extremity. Let them, since such is the fashion, be liberal out of the spoils of our allies; merciful to the plunderers of the treasury; but let them not be prodigal of our blood, and by sparing a few abandoned wretches, endanger the lives of all good men. Julius Cæsar has just now spoke with great strength and precision, concerning life and death; taking for a fiction, I suppose, the vulgar notion of an infernal world; where the bad, separated from the good, are confined to dark, frightful, and melancholy abodes. Accordingly, his proposal is, that their estates be confiscated, and their persons confined in the corporate towns; from an apprehension, I imagine, that, if they were kept at Rome, they might be rescued by force, either by their fellow conspirators, or by a mercenary mob; as if wicked and profligate

persons were to be found only in this city, and not all over Italy; or as if desperate attempts were not most likely to be made where there is least force to prevent them.

“THIS then is a vain proposal, if he fears any thing from them; but if amidst so great and general a fear, he alone is without any, the more does it become me to be apprehensive both for your safety and my own. Be assured, therefore, that, in determining the fate of Lentulus and the other prisoners, you likewise determine that of Catiline’s army, and all the conspirators. The more vigour and resolution you exert, the less spirit and courage will they have; but if they perceive you in the least remiss, they will fall upon you with irresistible fury.

“DO not think, it was by arms our ancestors raised the state from so small beginnings to such grandeur: if so, we should be in a more flourishing condition, as having a greater number of allies and citizens, of arms and horses, than they had. But there were other things that rendered them great, and which we are entirely without. They had industry at home, and just government abroad; they had minds free in council, that were influenced neither by crimes nor by passion. Instead of these virtues, we have luxury and avarice; public poverty and private wealth; we admire riches, and indulge ourselves in idleness; we make no distinction between the virtuous and the vicious; and all those things, that ought to be rewards of virtue, are possessed by ambition. Nor is this to be wondered at, whilst each of you pursues his own private interest; whilst at home you abandon yourselves entirely to pleasures, and here are led by nothing but avarice and connections; it is not, I say, to be wondered at, that attacks are made upon the defenceless republic. But of this I shall say no more.

“ROMANS of the highest quality have conspired to destroy their country; and are endeavouring to persuade the Gauls, the sworn enemies of the Roman name, to join them. The commander of the enemy is hovering over us with an army; and yet at this very juncture you doubt and hesitate how to proceed against such of the conspirators as are seized within your walls. Would you extend your compassion towards them? Be it so; they are young men only, and have offended through ambition: nay send them away armed too: what would be the consequence? Why this; when once they had got arms in their hands, they would soon make you repent of your lenity.

“OUR situation is indeed dangerous; but you are not afraid: yes, you are very much afraid; only from effeminacy  
and



and want of spirit, you remain in suspense, waiting every one the motions of another; trusting perhaps to the immortal gods, who have often saved this commonwealth in the greatest dangers. But the assistance of the gods is not obtained by idle vows and weak effeminate supplications: it is by vigilance, activity, and wise councils, that all things succeed; if you resign yourselves to sloth and indolence, it will be in vain for you to implore the protection of the gods; you will only offend them, and make them your enemies.

“IN the days of our ancestors, Manlius Torquatus, in a war with the Gauls, ordered his son to be put to death, for having engaged the enemy without orders; and thus a young man of great hopes was punished for too much bravery. And do you demur about the doom of the most barbarous parricides?

“BUT perhaps you will urge another plea, and say, that the rest of their lives has been such, as should make us extremely backward in believing them to be guilty of the crime, with which they are now charged. Shew, then, a tender regard for the dignity of Lentulus, if he himself has ever shewn any for his own chastity, for his own honour, for gods or for men: pardon Cethegus, on account of his youth, if this is not the second time of his making war upon his country. For what need I mention Gabinus, Statilius, Cæparius? who, if they had been men of the least reflection, would never have engaged in such wicked designs against their country.

“FINALLY, conscript fathers, were there any room at present for adopting a wrong measure, I should suffer you to be corrected by the event, since you disregard my reasonings. But we are surrounded on all sides: Catiline is hovering over our heads with an army; we have enemies within the walls, and in the very heart of the city. No preparations can be made, no measures taken, without their knowledge; and hence there is evidently the greater reason for dispatch.

“MY opinion, therefore, is, that since, by a detestable combination of profligate citizens, the state is brought into the greatest danger; since they are convicted, by the clearest external evidence, as well as by their own confession, to have entered into a conspiracy for destroying their fellow citizens and native country by fire, slaughter, and other unheard of cruelties; my opinion, I say, is, that they ought to be led to immediate execution, according to the custom of our ancestors.”

THIS speech of Cato's not only effaced all the sentiments of lenity that had been excited by Cæsar's harangue; but it brought the whole body of the senate to adopt the same

opinion, which Cato entertained; namely, that a capital punishment should be inflicted on the conspirators. A resolution accordingly was instantly taken for that purpose, and it was carried into effect that very evening; they were all of them strangled in prison.

IN the mean time Catiline, who had retired into Etruria, had assembled a body of about twelve thousand men; but not more than one fourth of them were completely armed. He naturally hoped, if his schemes at Rome succeeded, that he should soon see himself at the head of a numerous army; but hearing of the miscarriage of all his projects there, and particularly of the execution of the conspirators, his heart began to fail him, and he therefore endeavoured to escape into Gaul. This, however, he was prevented from doing by the activity of Antonius, the consul, who hung upon his rear, whilst Metellus Celer opposed him in front. Thus finding the utter impossibility of effecting a retreat, and expecting no mercy if he surrendered at discretion, he resolved to try the fate of a battle. Accordingly, wheeling about, he ventured to engage the army of Antonius, which was commanded by his lieutenant, Petreius; for the consul either had, or pretended to have the gout. The battle was short, but desperate and bloody. Catiline's army was entirely cut to pieces; himself, after the engagement, was found, at a distance from his own men, in the midst of a heap of slaughtered enemies, whom he had sacrificed to his fury. He still breathed, and retained, even in his last moments, that air of haughtiness and audacity, which had so strongly characterized him during life.

THE extinction of this conspiracy did not restore tranquillity to the republic. That still continued to be disturbed by the election of three much greater and more powerful men than Catiline. These were Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus. Crassus was the richest man in Rome, Pompey the most popular general, and Cæsar the ablest commander, as well as the most artful politician. This celebrated man was descended from the ancient kings of Rome, by his mother's side, who sprung from Ancus Marcius; and, by the father's side, he came from the Julian family, which he traced up to Venus, in order to throw the greater lustre round his pedigree. He lost his father at the age of sixteen. Having divorced Cossutia, his first wife, he married Cornelia, daughter of Cinna, who brought him Julia. Sylla did all that lay in his power to make him repudiate Cornelia; but finding him determined not to part with her, he decreed, that he should be divested from the priesthood; should forfeit his wife's portion, and all the estates that might fall to him in her right; and he even  
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put him into the list of the proscribed. To avoid the fury of so powerful a man, Cæsar was obliged for some time to abscond; but at last he obtained a pardon, at the intercession of the vestal virgins and of some other friends. It was with the utmost reluctance, however, that Sylla granted him this favour; and in granting it, he said, "Do you not see, that there are many Marius's in that same Cæsar?" His first campaign was in Asia, at his return from which he went to Rhodes, to complete his studies. He then returned to Rome, where he was elected military tribune, and soon after quæstor. It was in this capacity, that he went into Spain by the prætor's order, to visit the assemblies there, and administer justice. It is said, that in passing by Cadiz, he entered the temple of Hercules, where seeing the picture of Alexander the Great, he could not help weeping, to think, that he had not performed any remarkable action at an age, when Alexander had conquered the world. At his return from Spain, he was appointed ædile, and afterwards pontifex maximus. This last office he had the address to obtain in opposition to Lutatius Catulus and Servilius Isauricus, both of whom were much older than he, and had done their country more signal services. Some years after he was chosen prætor, and at the same time governor of Spain, whither he went to take upon him the government of the country; and he there conducted himself with so much spirit and prudence, that he greatly extended the limits of the province. Upon his return to Rome, he demanded both a triumph and the consulship. But the obtaining these two honours at the same time, was by the laws impracticable; because no man, that demanded a triumph, could enter Rome until he had obtained it; nor could any one stand candidate for the consulship, unless he appeared in person, and consequently unless he entered the city. Cæsar endeavoured, upon the present occasion, to have these formalities dispensed with in his favour; but Cato insisting upon the strict observance of the law, the other was obliged to give up his hopes of a triumph, and confine himself to the consulship. His ambitious views now began to be pretty well known. Nobody doubted but he would willingly have put himself at the head of Catiline's conspiracy, had it succeeded. But the ill success of that black attempt, and the remembrance of the death of the two Gracchi, assassinated before the eyes of the populace who adored them, were sufficient to convince him, that the favour of the people was not alone capable of protecting him from danger. He now plainly saw, that it would be impossible for him ever to seize upon the supreme power, unless he could obtain the command of the armies, and secure

to himself a greater number of friends than he yet had, and even to form a party in the senate. That assembly was now divided into two factions, one of which adhered to Pompey; and the other to Crassus. Cæsar reconciled these rivals for power; and joining himself to them, they mutually agreed, that nothing should thenceforth be done in the republic in opposition to their respective interests, or without receiving their consent and approbation: and thus was formed what is usually called the first triumvirate, which destroyed the power of the senate as well as that of the people, and was as real a combination against the liberties of Rome, as Catiline's conspiracy, though it was not intended to be followed with such slaughter and bloodshed.

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## C H A P. XXI.

*From the Beginning of the FIRST TRIUMVIRATE, to the Death of POMPEY.*

[ANN. ROM. 694.]

THE first use which Cæsar made of his newly acquired power, was to get himself raised to the dignity of consul by the interest of his two associates, Pompey and Crassus. In return for this favour, he took care to have all Pompey's acts confirmed. He next resolved to gain the favour of the people; and with this view began to revive the Agrarian law. This, he knew, would be as agreeable to the inferior orders of the community, as it would be disagreeable to the senate; and this was the very point he aimed at. He accordingly proposed, that certain lands in Campania should be divided among twenty thousand of the poor citizens, who had three children or more. Nothing could be more reasonable than such a proposal; and it was only criminal from the motive with which it was made. The senate, however, with their usual pride and avarice, opposed it; but Cæsar was prepared for such an opposition. He asked Pompey and Crassus what they thought of the law: they both heartily approved it; and Pompey in particular said, that should any man oppose it with his drawn sword, he would not only unsheath his own, but would take up



up his shield to defend it. This deprived Pompey of all the influence he had formerly had in the senate; and Cæsar, being supported by the whole body of the people, not only caused his law to be passed, but compelled the few senators, that remained in the house (for the majority of them had retired) to take an oath, binding themselves to the strict observance of it. In a word, from this time he carried every thing before him; the other consul, Bibulus, seldom appeared in public; so that it was jestingly called the consulship of Julius and Cæsar, intimating that every thing was done by his authority.

HAVING thus ingratiated himself with the people, he next endeavoured to gain the favour of the knights, who were a very powerful body in the state. They had long been the farmers of the public revenue, and by that means had acquired immense fortunes. At last, however, they began to complain that they were unable to pay the sums they had promised. Cæsar, therefore, proposed a law, easing them of a third part of their former disbursements; and this, in spite of the opposition of the senate, he was able to carry. Having thus strengthened himself at home, he next deliberated with his confederates about dividing among them the provinces of the empire; and each had the quarter that was most suited to his particular inclination. Pompey, fatigued with conquest, was desirous of ease and tranquillity; Crassus's ruling passion was the acquisition of wealth; and Cæsar wished to be placed in a scene, where he might have an opportunity of increasing his military fame. The first, accordingly, chose Spain for his province; the second Syria; and the latter Gaul, which was inhabited by a great number of barbarous nations, most of them still unsubdued, and the rest only professing a nominal subjection to the Romans. In this manner these three men divided the world among them, as if it had been their patrimonial estate; and Cato inveighing against this prostitution of the commonwealth, Cæsar caused him to be thrown into prison, though he afterwards released him. Cicero too was very roughly treated. Cæsar naturally dreaded the great political talents, and still more the unrivalled eloquence of this celebrated orator; and in order to take him out of the way, before he set out for his government of Gaul, he was not ashamed to associate himself with Clodius, Cicero's professed enemy. As this is a very curious affair, it ought to be explained at some length. Clodius was a young man, handsome, rich, and eloquent, and a particular favourite of the people, whose interest he had always espoused. He had lately fallen in love with Pompeia, Cæsar's wife; and in order to procure

an interview with her, he fell upon the following expedient: there was soon to be celebrated, in the house of Cæsar, a festival in honour of Bacchus. This festival was of such a nature, that it was attended only by females: no man, not even the master of the house, nay, no male animal, was allowed to be present. Clodius contrived to get himself introduced, in a female garb, into this assembly of women. The maid, who admitted him, went away immediately to inform Pompeia of his arrival; but tarrying longer than was expected, Clodius came out of his hiding-place, and straying about the house, was met by another maid-servant, who mistaking him for a woman, would have had him to play with her. This Clodius refused; and she attempting to bring him into the light, he, to free himself from her importunities, said, that he was one of the female singers engaged to officiate at the festival. The tone of his voice betrayed him. The maid ran, in a great fright, and acquainted Aurelia, Cæsar's mother, with what she had heard. The ceremonies were instantly suspended; and the criminal being sought for, was discovered. Aurelia then turned him out of the house, and next morning informed the senate of all that had passed. This gave offence to all the citizens, and one of the tribunes impeached Clodius before the people. Cæsar, however, would not join in the prosecution against him: but he divorced his wife; and being asked why he did so, if he thought Clodius innocent, he said, that the wife of Cæsar ought not only to be free from guilt, but even from the suspicion of it.

BEING now eased of all fears from Cæsar, Clodius alleged that Aurelia had mistaken another person for him; and offered to prove, that he was at a great distance from Rome on the night when the ceremony was celebrated. But Cicero coming into the assembly, assured them that Clodius had been at his house the very evening that preceded the festival. His testimony, however, was quite overpowered by the interest of Clodius, and by the money which the culprit had previously laid out in order to bribe the judges. Clodius accordingly was acquitted, thirty-one of the judges declaring in his favour, and only twenty-five against him.

BEING now freed from all danger, he resolved to be revenged on Cicero for the part he had taken in this affair. With this view he got himself elected tribune; and immediately proposed several laws for the benefit of the people, the better to gain their favour. He also won over the two consuls for the present year; and having thus strengthened his interest, he openly accused Cicero of having violated the laws in the punishment of the late conspirators, who could



not legally be put to death without the authority of the people, before whose tribunal they had never been brought. When Cicero heard of this charge against him, he endeavoured at first to avail himself of his interest with Pompey and Cæsar; but both of these proving either lukewarm or faithless, his courage seemed totally to desert him, and he, who had often been so wonderfully eloquent in defending the cause of others, had hardly a word to say in his own. In consequence of this, Clodius procured a vote of the people against him, banishing him to the distance of four hundred miles from Italy, and ordering his houses to be demolished, and his goods set up to sale. He continued abroad about sixteen months, at the end of which he was recalled, chiefly by the interest of Pompey, who wanted to oppose him to Clodius; for that tribune had now begun to grow troublesome, even to Pompey himself.

By this time Cæsar, having got every thing ready for his expedition to Gaul, set out for that country; and in the space of nine years, which he spent there and in Britain, he met with such a series of success as hardly any other general before. To give an account of all the battles he fought, and all the victories he gained there, would greatly exceed the limits of a work of this kind: we shall content ourselves at present with mentioning a few of the most remarkable. The Helvetians, or Swiss, were the first that felt the weight of his arms. These people, desirous of enjoying a more fruitful soil, resolved to abandon their own country, and go in quest of new settlements. Accordingly, having burned all their towns and villages, and even all their provisions, except what they intended to carry with them, they set out, to the number of three hundred and sixty-eight thousand souls. Cæsar attacked them in the neighbourhood of Geneva, and committed such a dreadful havoc among them, that, after killing about two-thirds of them, he compelled the rest to retreat into their forests. The Germans, headed by their king Ariovistus, were next cut off, to the number of eighty thousand; the king himself very narrowly escaping in a little boat across the Rhine. The Belgæ suffered such a terrible overthrow, that rivers and marshes are said to have been rendered passable by the heaps of slain. The Nerveans, who inhabited a woody part of the country, and were looked upon as the most warlike of all the Gaulic nations, made head for some time against the Romans, and fell upon them with such fury, that their army was in danger of being utterly defeated; but Cæsar hastily catching up a buckler, rushed through his troops into the midst of the enemy; by which means the face of affairs was so totally changed, that the barbarians were at last cut off to a man.

man. The Celtic Gauls, who inhabited the interior and more southern parts of the country, were next brought under subjection; and, after them, the Luevi, the Morini, the Menapii, and all the nations from the Mediterranean to the British sea, and from the Alps to the Atlantic ocean. Plutarch says, that Cæsar, in his several expeditions into Gaul, took eight hundred cities; subdued three hundred different states; overcame three millions of men; one of which fell on the field of battle, and one were made prisoners of war. Appian agrees with Plutarch as to the number of slain, and the prisoners; but says, that the enemy amounted to four millions. Velleius Paterculus, however, reduces the number of slain to four hundred thousand; and it is more than probable that he is nearer the truth than either of the two former. Indeed, all accounts of ancient writers, with regard to the number of the enemy slain in any battle, ought to be received with many grains of allowance.

CÆSAR, having completed the conquest of Gaul, crossed over into Britain. This he did upon pretence, that the natives had furnished his enemies with succours. Upon drawing near the shore, he found it covered with men to oppose his landing, and his forces were in danger of being repulsed, till the standard-bearer of the tenth legion leaped boldly into the water, crying out at the same time, “Let all those follow me that would not wish to see the Roman eagle to fall into the hands of barbarians.” The rest, animated by his example, immediately followed, and soon gaining the dry land, they put the Britons to flight. These finding themselves unable to cope with such powerful enemies as the Romans, sent to desire a peace, which they easily obtained, and, by way of security for their good behaviour, they delivered some hostages. But a storm soon after arising, and destroying a great part of Cæsar’s fleet, they resolved to take advantage of this disaster, and advanced against him with a numerous army. Their army, however, was more numerous than powerful; for it may be said to have been both unarmed and undisciplined in comparison of Cæsar’s. Being overcome, they were obliged once more to sue for peace, which Cæsar granted them, and returned to the continent. He had no sooner done so, than the Britons endeavoured to recover their independence. Cæsar, therefore, invaded this island a second time; and coming up with the natives, who were now assembled in great numbers under their general Cassibellan, he so humbled them by his repeated victories, that they no longer presumed to meet him in the plains, but keeping in the forests, seemed determined to weary out the Romans by protracting the war. Cæsar, however,



however, pursued them closely, and crossing the Thames, he soon reduced them to such difficulties, that they were obliged to submit to the conqueror's conditions, who imposed an annual tribute, and took hostages for its payment.

By the conquest of Gaul Cæsar had become so popular and wealthy, and consequently so powerful, that nothing could now prevent the accomplishment of his ambitious views, which extended to no less than the usurpation of the government. Neither Pompey, who, from his associate, was now become his rival and secret enemy, nor even the whole body of the senate, were able to effect this. Both of them were, indeed; sensible of the error they had committed in suffering him to continue so long at the head of the same forces, among whom he had established his interest so thoroughly, that they were ready to second him in any enterprize, however prejudicial it might prove to the interest of his country. At first they endeavoured to induce him to resign gently the command of an army, which they apprehended they were unable to make him quit by force. When he sent a letter to Rome, soliciting the consulship, some of the senators alledged, that the laws did not permit any person that was absent to offer himself a candidate for that high office. Their view, in this, was to allure Cæsar from his government; in order to stand for the consulship in person. But Cæsar, aware of their artifice, chose to remain in his province; convinced, that while he headed an army devoted to his service, he could give laws as well as magistrates to Rome. Disappointed in this attempt, they next endeavoured to weaken his army. They ordered him to send home the two legions he had lately raised; for the purpose, as they said, of sending them against the Parthians, but, in reality, with no other view than to diminish his power. Cæsar saw their motive; but as his schemes were not yet ripe for execution, he sent them in obedience to the orders of the senate, having first attached the officers to him by benefits, and the soldiers by bounties. Encouraged by his ready compliance in this particular, they now ventured to proceed a step farther; and as the term of his commission was very near expiring, they proposed recalling him home. But Curio, one of his friends in the senate, said, that Cæsar should not leave his army, till Pompey had quitted his. This threw a damp on the hopes they had entertained; and, in the mean time, one of the senate declaring that Cæsar had passed the Alps, and was advancing towards Rome with his whole army, the consul immediately quitting the senate, went with his colleagues to an house where Pompey resided. He there presented him with a sword, commanding him to march against  
Cæsar,

Cæsar, and fight in defence of the commonwealth. Pompey replied he was ready to obey ; but added, at the same time, that he would only do so if some gentler means could not be found.

CÆSAR, who heard regularly of all that passed at Rome, though he was still in Gaul, was willing to give his aims the appearance of justice. He therefore agreed to lay down his employment when Pompey should do the same. But the senate rejected his proposal, blindly confident of their own strength, and relying on the abilities of Pompey. Cæsar, still unwilling to come to an open rupture with the state, at last was content to ask the government of Illyria, with two legions ; but this also was refused him. Finding all attempts at an accommodation ineffectual, and convinced, as he thought he had reason to be, of the steady attachment of his troops, he began to draw them down towards the confines of Italy ; and passing the Alps, with his third legion, stopt at Ravenna, from whence he once more wrote to the senate, declaring, that he was ready to lay down his command, if Pompey would do the same. Instead of listening to a proposal so seemingly equitable, the senate decreed, that Cæsar should resign his government, and disband his forces, within a limited time ; and, if he refused obedience, that he should be declared an enemy to the republic.

THESE violent proceedings, however, made little impression upon Cæsar. The night before his intended expedition into Italy, he sat down to supper, cheerfully conversing with his friends on subjects of literature and philosophy, and apparently disengaged from every ambitious concern. However, after some time, rising up, he desired the company to make themselves merry in his absence, and that he would be with them in a moment. In the mean time, having previously made the necessary preparations, he immediately set out, attended by a few friends, for Ariminum, a city upon the confines of Italy, whither he had dispatched a part of his army the morning before. This journey by night, which was very fatiguing, he performed with great diligence, and about break of day came up with his army, consisting of about five thousand men, near the Rubicon, a little river, which divided Italy from Cisalpine Gaul, and which terminated the limits of his command. The Romans had been taught to consider this river as the boundary of their domestic empire. The senate long before had made an edict, which is still to be seen engraven in the road near Remini (the modern name of Ariminum), by which they devoted to the infernal gods, and branded with the crimes of sacrilege and parricide, any person  
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who should presume to pass the Rubicon, with an army, a legion, or even a single cohort. Cæsar, therefore, when he advanced with his army to the side of the river, stopped short upon the banks, as if impressed with the greatness of his enterprize. He could not pass it without transgressing the laws; and therefore pondered for some time in fixed melancholy, looking and debating with himself whether he should venture in. "If I pass this river," says he to one of his generals; "what calamities shall I bring upon my country! and if I stop short, I am undone. Let us go where the gods and the injustice of our enemies call us." Thus saying, and resuming all his former spirit, he plunged in, crying out, "the die is cast, and now all is over." His soldiers followed him with the same alacrity, and having passed the Rubicon, quickly arrived at Ariminum, and made themselves masters of the place without opposition. It is remarkable, that Cæsar, in his commentaries, says not one word of the passing of the Rubicon, which is so particularly related by all other historians. It is probable he was unwilling to reveal the perplexity he was in at that particular period.

WHEN the news of taking Ariminum was brought to Rome, it threw the whole city into the utmost consternation. This was even greater than the danger itself, which however was considerable. The people every moment expected to see Cæsar at the gates of the city with his ten legions; for so many, they imagined, he had with him. Even Pompey lost his presence of mind on this general alarm. He had more troops about him than Cæsar; but he was so teased and harassed by the complaints of the people, that he could not preserve the composure that was necessary to take any resolution worthy of his courage. Every body complained of his conduct. They first blamed him for assisting Cæsar to rise to his present degree of power; and afterwards, when he found himself unable to oppose him, for rejecting the terms of peace that were offered by his rival. Even Cato helped to chagrin Pompey by an unseasonable reflection. For when every body was admiring the penetration and sagacity, with which that steady patriot had foretold the present calamity; "Yes," said he, "if you had believed me, you would not now be reduced to the shameful necessity either of fearing one man, or of placing all your hopes in one. It is not the Gauls or Germans you ought to be afraid of; it is Cæsar you ought to dread." Averse, however, as Cato was to all authority that was contrary to law, he did not, on the present occasion, shew an ill timed inflexibility, but advised the senate to invest Pompey with the whole power of the state; adding at the same time,  
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with a sarcastic sneer, which was still farther calculated to mortify Pompey, that those who did great mischief, were best qualified to remedy it. His advice was followed, and a decree passed, importing, that there was a tumult; that is, that a civil war was commenced; that the city was in danger; and that therefore it was the duty of every man to take up arms.

THE first use which Pompey made of the supreme power conferred on him, was to abandon Rome, and to order all the senators to follow him; declaring aloud, that he should consider all those as Cæsar's partizans that staid behind. This was considered by most people as the effect of mere despair. In vain did Pompey justify his conduct by the example of Themistocles, who, on the approach of the Persian army, did the same thing at Athens. In vain did he endeavour to persuade his fellow citizens, that certain walls and houses do not constitute a man's country; but that a brave man will find himself at home wherever he enjoys liberty. The people, attached to the place of their nativity, either could not perceive, or were unwilling to acknowledge the justness of his reasoning. The scene, however, which this step produced, was really somewhat curious. For at the same time were to be seen, the people of Rome flying into the country, and those of the country rushing towards Rome for safety and protection; so that all the roads of Italy were crowded with men and women running against one another, as if they had been actuated by a contrary impulse.

THE consuls left Rome with such precipitation, that they neglected to perform the necessary sacrifices; a thing that had never been omitted before. The prætors, the greater part of the tribunes, the persons of consular dignity, in a word almost all the senators, followed Pompey with such unanimity, that many of Cæsar's adherents were carried away by the torrent, and amongst them was even Piso, his own father-in-law.

THUS all the majesty of the republic was with Pompey, and all its strength with Cæsar. I allude not here merely to his military forces. He had a more numerous and a more powerful band of followers. He had long been the patron of all those who had been guilty of crimes, were involved in debt, or were become infamous by their licentious course of life. Those, whose affairs were not entirely desperate, he assisted with money; and to the others he boldly declared, that a civil war was necessary. By these means he had attached to himself a vast number of dependents; all fit for the undertaking of any enterprize, or the commission of any crime. It is easy



to conceive what strength a party may derive from a collection of such miscreants. "Cæsar's cause," says Cicero, "is destitute of virtue; but of every other advantage it is evidently possessed."

AMONG so many Romans, some friends of Cæsar, some of Pompey, it is difficult to find any that were friends of the republic: perhaps Cato was the only one who ought to be considered in that light. This is the opinion of Seneca, who says, "If you would form a just opinion of those times, you must set on one side the people, and all those whose ruined fortunes could only be retrieved by a change of government; on the other, the nobles, the knights, and all that was illustrious and respectable in Rome; and, in the midst of these, two despised and solitary objects, that is, Cato and the republic." For Cato was not much better pleased with Pompey than with Cæsar; since if he had determined to kill himself, should the last be conqueror, he had also resolved to go into exile, if the first were victorious.

BEFORE Pompey and Cæsar proceeded to extremities, that is, before they drew their swords against each other, and came to an engagement, they resolved, if they could, to have one conference, if not in person, at least by proxy. Accordingly two persons from Pompey waited upon Cæsar, and assured him, that that noble Roman was not actuated by any personal enmity against him, but merely by his zeal for the republic, whose interest he had always preferred; that it became Cæsar to follow the same maxim, and not hurt his country by pushing too far his private animosities. Though Cæsar neither wished nor expected to settle matters in an amicable manner, he yet was desirous to have the reputation of doing both. His answer, therefore, was conceived in the following terms: "Let Pompey go into his province of Spain; let all the armies be disbanded; let every body throughout Italy lay down their arms; let every thing that partakes of terror and force be removed; let the elections of magistrates be made with perfect freedom; and let the republic be administered by the authority of the senate." And in order to settle a plan for the execution of these articles, he demanded an interview with Pompey. This, however, Pompey declined, unless Cæsar would lay down his command in obedience to the orders of the senate, and return to a private station.

UPON leaving Rome, Pompey had retired to Capua, and Cæsar now determined to pursue him thither. The first place that attempted to stop the rapidity of his march was Corfinium. It was defended by Domitius, who had been appointed by the senate to succeed him in Gaul, and was garrisoned by twenty cohorts,

cohorts, which were levied in the adjacent country. Cæsar, however, quickly invested it; and though Domitius sent frequently to Pompey, intreating him to come to his relief, he was soon reduced to such necessity, that he began to entertain thoughts of making his escape by stealth. His design being discovered, the garrison resolved to consult their own safety by delivering him up to the besiegers. Cæsar accepted their offers, but kept his men from immediately entering the town. After some time, Lentulus, the consul, who was one of the besieged, came out to implore forgiveness for himself and his companions, reminding Cæsar of their ancient friendship, and acknowledging the many favours he had received at his hands. Cæsar's humanity would not allow him to wait the conclusion of the speech; he therefore broke in upon Lentulus, and said, that he came into Italy, not to injure the liberties of Rome and its citizens, but to restore both. Lentulus now finding himself out of danger, begged leave to return into the town, "where some people, he said, were so terrified, that they might be tempted to embrace the most desperate resolution." He alluded to Domitius, whose fate was really somewhat singular. This man had always been a declared enemy to Cæsar. He had constantly endeavoured to get him recalled from his government, and had even been appointed to succeed him in it. Expecting, therefore, no mercy from a man whom he had so mortally offended, he resolved to put an end to his own life, rather than have it taken from him by others. He accordingly ordered his physician, who was likewise one of his slaves, to give him a dose of poison, which he courageously swallowed, and threw himself on his bed. Some hours after, Lentulus arrived, and gave him an account of Cæsar's clemency. Domitius now deplored his unhappy fate, and blamed himself for having been so very precipitate. But his physician consoled him by declaring, that he had given him no poison, but only a soporific, which would do him no manner of harm. Domitius therefore plucked up his spirits, and patiently waiting for the arrival of Cæsar, not only received from him his life and liberty, but was even allowed to retain about forty-eight thousand pounds, which Pompey had given him to pay his forces. As to the troops themselves, Cæsar took them into his own pay, and soon after sent them into Sicily.

THERE were two things that contributed greatly to widen the breach between Pompey and Cæsar. One was the death of Julia, wife of Pompey, and daughter of Cæsar, which destroyed the domestic connection between them. The other was the death of Crassus, who had been killed in the war he conducted



conducted against the Parthians, and who, while he was alive, helped to keep up a kind of balance between these rivals for empire; but as they were now freed from all check or restraint upon their ambitious views, they continued to carry on their struggles for power, till one of them fell in the contest, and the other made himself complete master of the government.

POMPEY, hearing of the surrender of Corfinium, retired to Brundisium, where he resolved to stand a siege, in order to retard the march of the enemy till the forces of the empire should be united to oppose him.

IN a few days Cæsar came before it, and made two several attempts to have an interview with Pompey; but not being able to succeed in his endeavour, he laid siege to the place. Pompey, however, kept him some time at bay; but fearing, at last, that Cæsar might be tempted to take the place by storm, he resolved to carry his garrison to Dyrrachium, where the consul was raising forces for the service of the empire. For this purpose, having fortified the harbour in such a manner, as to prevent the enemy from immediately pursuing him, he embarked his troops with the utmost dispatch, leaving only a few archers and slingers on the walls, who were ordered to retreat in small boats provided for that purpose, as soon as all the heavy-armed troops were on board. Cæsar being informed of their retreat by the inhabitants of the town, who were provoked at the ruin of their houses, immediately attempted to prevent the embarkation, and was actually going to lead his men over a pitfall, which Pompey had secretly placed in his way, had he not been interrupted by the townsmen, who apprized him of his danger. Thus did Pompey, in a very masterly manner, effect his escape, leaving Italy entirely at the mercy of his rival, without either a town or an army, that was able to oppose his progress.

CÆSAR, finding it impossible to pursue Pompey, for want of shipping, resolved to go back to Rome, and take possession of the public treasures, which his opponent had neglected taking with him. Pompey was probably unwilling to seize this money from an apprehension of the popular odium to which it would expose him, as it was looked upon as a sacred deposit, to be employed only in cases of the most extreme necessity, such, for instance, as that of a Gaulic invasion. Cæsar, however, was less scrupulous; but still he met with some opposition when he came to the door of the treasury. Metellus, the consul, who guarded it, refused to let him pass, alledging, that the money was sacred, and that horrible imprecations had been announced against such as touched it upon any occasion

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but that of an invasion from Gaul. Cæsar replied, that then it could never be touched at all, for, that as he had entirely subdued Gaul, no invasion could reasonably be apprehended from that quarter.

THE tribune then pretending that the keys were missing, Cæsar ordered his attendants to break open the doors: but Metellus had still the boldness to dispute even this command; upon which Cæsar, falling into a greater passion than was usual with him, laid his hand upon his sword, and threatened to strike him dead; “And know, young man,” cried he, “that it is easier for me to do this than to say it.” This menace had the desired effect: Metellus was so terrified, that he immediately withdrew, and Cæsar took out to the amount of three thousand pound weight of gold, besides thirty-five thousand bars of silver, and forty millions of sesterces, the latter alone computed at three hundred thousand pounds sterling.

CÆSAR now resolved to march into Spain, in order to attack the forces which Pompey had in that province under the command of his lieutenants, Petreius and Afranius. These he knew to be men but of very weak abilities; and he therefore jocosely said, at setting out, that he was going to fight an army without a general, and return to fight a general without an army; alluding to Pompey himself, who had not been able to assemble any great body of forces, and even those but indifferently disciplined.

HIS first operations in Spain, however, were rather unsuccessful. He fought a battle with the enemy in the neighbourhood of Ilerda; and both sides claimed the victory. It soon, likewise, appeared, that Cæsar was reduced to great difficulties for want of provisions, which the swelling of the river Ebro, and the position of the enemy, entirely cut off. Nothing, however, was able to subdue his spirit and activity; for causing light boats, covered with leather, to be made, and diverting the attention of the enemy to another quarter, he carried his boats in waggons twenty miles from the camp, launched them upon the broadest part of the river, and by that means passed his legions over. Having thus gained a fresh supply of provisions, he made a feint as if he intended to distress the enemy in turn, by cutting off their supplies; and for this purpose he began to throw up entrenchments and cut ditches, as if to turn the course of the river into another channel. These preparations so intimidated the enemy, that they resolved to decamp by night; but Cæsar pursued them so closely, and hemmed them in so effectually, that they were forced to submit to him without drawing a sword. Nor had they any reason to repent of this step.



Cæsar received them with great humanity, and sent them back to Rome, there to publish the news of their own defeat, and of his increasing success and reputation. Thus, in the space of about forty days, he made himself master of all Spain; and then departing for Marseilles, which had formerly refused to admit him, he compelled that city to surrender at discretion. He pardoned the inhabitants on account of their name and antiquity; and leaving two legions to secure the place, he returned again victorious to Rome. The citizens, upon this occasion, received him with fresh demonstrations of joy, and created him not only consul but even dictator; though the last of these offices he resigned after he had enjoyed it about eleven days.

WHILE he was thus employed, Pompey was no less active in making preparations in Greece to oppose him. He had engaged all the monarchs of the east in his interest, and had assembled a very formidable force both by sea and land. The latter consisted of eleven effective Italian legions; and his auxiliaries amounted to seven thousand cavalry, three thousand archers, and eight cohorts of slingers. All these he posted in different parts of Dyrrachium and Apollonia, to oppose Cæsar's landing, in case he should attempt it. His fleet, commanded by Bibulus, consisted of five hundred large ships, exclusive of smaller vessels. He had drawn great sums of money out of Asia and Greece; and having gained many advantages over Anthony and Dolabella, who commanded for Cæsar in those parts, he had lately been joined by vast numbers of citizens; so that he had at one time above two hundred patricians in his camp, who assembled in the form of a senate. It was in one of these meetings, that a decree was made, at the motion of Cato, that no Roman citizen should be put to death, except in battle; and that no town subject to the Romans should be plundered by the conquerors.

NOTWITHSTANDING these mighty preparations against him, Cæsar proceeded with his usual vigour, and with a courage that to ordinary capacities might seem to be rashness. He now resolved to face his rival in the east, and led his forces to Brundisium, a sea-port town of Italy, in order to transport them into Greece; but he wanted a fleet numerous enough to transport them all at once, and it appeared dangerous to weaken his army by dividing it. Besides, it was now the midst of winter, and very difficult for any vessels, much more for so slight a fleet as his was, to keep the sea: add to this, that all the ports and shores on the other side were filled with the numerous navy of his rival, commanded by Bibulus, one of the most renowned admirals of the age.

IN spite, however, of these impediments, he shipped off five of his twelve legions, amounting to no more than twenty thousand foot and six thousand horse, and seizing the opportunity of fair wind, steered fortunately through the midst of the enemy, timing it so well that they were not able to make the least opposition. He landed at a place called Pharsalus, not daring to venture into any known port, which he was afraid might be possessed by the enemy. When his troops were debarked, he sent back the fleet to bring over the rest; but thirty of his ships, in their return, fell into the hands of Pompey's admiral, who set them all on fire.

AFTER waiting for some time, with the utmost anxiety, for the arrival of the rest of his forces, he ventured upon an attempt, which nothing but the great confidence he had in his good fortune could excuse. He disguised himself in the habit of a slave, and, with all imaginable secrecy, went on board a fisherman's bark, at the mouth of the river Apfus, with a design to pass over to Brundisium, where the rest of his forces lay, and bring them over in person. He accordingly rowed off in the beginning of the night; but when he advanced a considerable way into the sea, a violent storm arose; and the fisherman being now exhausted with fatigue, and despairing of gaining the opposite coast, proposed to return. His passenger, however, dissuaded him. The sailor, therefore, made a fresh effort; but the storm growing every moment more and more furious, he began to express his apprehensions of the danger they were in; upon which Cæsar discovering himself, cried out, *Quid times! Cæsarem vebis?* "What are you afraid of? you carry Cæsar."

ENCOURAGED by the presence of so great a man, the fisherman made fresh endeavours; but the storm continuing still to increase against them, he was obliged to make for land, which he was not able to reach without great difficulty. Upon his landing, Cæsar's soldiers crowded around him, and kindly upbraided him with the disgrace he had put upon them by going for new soldiers, when those he already had were fully sufficient to gain him the victory.

Soon after, he received the agreeable news of the landing of the troops he had long expected at Apollonia; from whence they were advancing, under the conduct of Anthony and Calenus, to join him. He therefore set out in order to meet them, and to prevent Pompey, if possible, from attacking them on their march. This precaution was not less successful than necessary; for Pompey had actually made some motions to surprize them by the way, and had laid an ambuscade for Anthony, which failing, he was obliged to retreat under an  
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apprehension of being surrounded by the two armies, so that the junction was effected the very same day. From this time the two generals endeavoured, by various manœuvres, to counteract each other's designs, and take one another by surprise. But at last they resolved to come to a decisive engagement, and with that view drew out their forces upon the plains of Pharsalia.

THE numbers on the two sides were very unequal. Pompey, in this respect, had greatly the advantage of Cæsar. According to the information which the latter gives us in his Commentaries, Pompey had forty-five thousand foot, while he himself had but twenty-two thousand. The auxiliaries, no doubt, on either side, exceeded the number of the Romans; and this may have given rise to the exaggerated accounts of some writers, who reckon three hundred, or even four hundred thousand fighting men at the battle of Pharsalia. But to consider only the national troops; what enemy, as Plutarch observes, could have withstood seventy thousand Romans, commanded by Cæsar and Pompey, acting with unity and concord? And what madness, therefore, was it for so many thousand citizens to turn against each other those formidable arms, which had already conquered the better part of the world, and were capable of subduing the rest?

THESE reflections might possibly have occurred to some philosophers at the time; but it is certain that the two leaders had very different sentiments; their thoughts were entirely bent on conquest, and they endeavoured to infuse the like spirit into their soldiers, by the strongest arguments and the most lively exhortations: "As you have drawn this battle on yourselves," said Pompey to his party, "and would force me to fight, you are therefore answerable for the event of it. And, indeed, what mighty advantages do you not possess over your enemies? Your numbers, your vigour, a late victory, all ensure you a speedy and easy conquest of those shattered remains of legions, composed only of men worn out with age, harassed by fatigue, already beaten, and accustomed to fly before you. Above all, consider the justice of your cause. You are engaged in the defence of liberty, supported by the laws, the senate, the flower of the Roman knighthood; in a word, by every person of rank and merit, united against a robber and oppressor of his country. Shew then, on this occasion, all that ardour and detestation of tyranny, that ought ever to animate the breasts of Romans."

CÆSAR maintained that shew of moderation which he knew so well how to assume, and insisted on nothing so strongly, as his frequent and unsuccessful endeavours to preserve peace.

He appealed to his men whether he had not taken every step that was necessary for that purpose; hoping thereby, as he said, to avoid spilling the blood of his fellow soldiers, and wishing to prevent the commonwealth from losing one of its armies. It is easy to imagine what a strong impression such a discourse must make upon his men; they all wished for the commencement of the fight with the utmost ardour; so that Cæsar now had nothing more to do than give the signal to engage, which he accordingly did. The word on Pompey's side was Hercules the invincible; that on Cæsar's, Victor the victorious.

AN old soldier in his army, called Crastinus, who had signalized himself on many occasions, began the attack at the head of one hundred and twenty volunteers; and turning to Cæsar, "General," says he, "this day you shall be satisfied with my behaviour; and whether I live or die, I will deserve your good opinion." So saying, he marched up to the enemy.

BETWEEN the two armies there was an empty space, sufficient for the onset; but Pompey had ordered his troops to keep their ground, that Cæsar's army might have all that way to come. His scheme was, that the enemy's ranks might be broken, and themselves put out of breath, by having so far to run; of which he afterwards meant to take the advantage. Cæsar, in his Commentaries, says, that in this he thinks Pompey committed a mistake, as the courage of soldiers is animated by motion, and damped by inactivity.

CÆSAR's men did not fall into the snare that was laid for them; for perceiving that the enemy did not stir, they voluntarily stopt in the midst of their career, and having taken breath, put themselves again in motion, marched up in good order, flung their javelins, and then betook themselves to their swords. Pompey's troops did the same, and sustained the attack with great vigour. His cavalry also were ordered to charge at the same time, which, with the multitude of archers and slingers, soon obliged Cæsar's men to give way. Upon this Cæsar ordered a body of six cohorts, which he had placed in the rear, to advance, and particularly to strike the enemy's faces. This had the desired effect. The cavalry, who thought themselves sure of victory, received an immediate check. The unusual method of fighting pursued by the cohorts, their aiming entirely at the visages of the assailants, and the horrible disfiguring wounds they made, all contributed to strike the enemy with such a panic, that, instead of endeavouring to defend their bodies, they only thought of saving their faces. The consequence was, that they were  
instantly



instantly routed, and fled in disorder to the neighbouring mountains, while the archers and slingers, being thus abandoned, were all cut to pieces. Cæsar now commanded the cohorts to advance, and charge the enemy in rear. They did so. But this charge the others sustained with great bravery, till Cæsar brought up his third line, which had not yet engaged. Pompey's infantry being thus doubly attacked, in front by fresh troops, and in rear by the victorious legions, could no longer resist, but fled to their camp. The flight began among the strangers, though Pompey's right wing still valiantly maintained its ground. Cæsar, however, seeing that the victory was certain, cried out to his men to pursue the strangers, but to spare the Romans; upon which these last all laid down their arms, and received quarter. The greatest slaughter was among the auxiliaries, who fled on all sides, but principally withdrew to the camp. This Cæsar resolved to attack. He accordingly did so, and immediately carried it, notwithstanding the opposition made by those who had been appointed to defend it.

CÆSAR seeing the field and camp strewed with his fallen countrymen, was strongly affected with so melancholy a prospect, and could not help crying out to one that stood near him, "They would have it so: notwithstanding my great exploits, I had certainly been condemned, had I not implored the assistance of my soldiers."

UPON entering the enemy's camp, every object presented fresh instances of the blind presumption and madness of his adversaries. On all sides were to be seen tents adorned with ivy and branches of myrtle, couches covered with purple, and side boards loaded with plate. Every thing gave proofs of the highest luxury, and seemed rather preparatives for a banquet or rejoicings for a victory, than dispositions for a battle.

A CAMP so richly furnished might have tempted the avidity and stopped the progress of any troops but Cæsar's: but something still remained to be done; and he would allow them to attend to no other object than their enemies, till these were entirely subdued. A considerable body of them having retired to the adjacent mountains, he prevailed on his soldiers to join him in the pursuit, in order to compel them to surrender. He began by inclosing them with a line drawn at the foot of the mountain; but they quickly abandoned a post, which, for want of water, was not tenable, and endeavoured to reach the city of Larissa. Upon this, Cæsar dividing his army, left one part of it in Pompey's camp, sent another back to his own, and having with the third taken a nearer route than that by which the enemy had passed, he found

means to intercept their march; and after advancing about six miles, he drew up in order of battle between them and the city, where they thought to have found shelter.

HOWEVER, these unhappy fugitives once more found protection from a mountain, at the foot of which ran a rivulet. Though Cæsar's troops must have been now exhausted with fighting and marching the whole day, he yet prevailed upon them to make one effort more, and before night he contrived to throw some works that were sufficient to cut off the enemy from all communication with the river. The fugitives, thus deprived of all hopes of procuring water, or effecting their escape, sent deputies to the conqueror, offering to surrender at discretion. Things continued in this situation all night, during which some senators, taking advantage of the darkness, consulted their safety by flight. In the morning the rest came down from the mountain, and giving up their arms, were indulged with a pardon. Cæsar, indeed, not only addressed them in the mildest terms, and granted them their life and liberty; but he even forbade his soldiers to offer them any violence, or to take any thing from them.

His loss, according to his own account, amounted to but two hundred men; that of Pompey to fifteen thousand, as well Romans as auxiliaries: twenty-four thousand men surrendered themselves prisoners of war, and the greatest part of these, at least the soldiers and subalterns, entered into Cæsar's army, and were incorporated with the rest of his forces.

As to the senators and knights who fell into his hands, he generously gave them liberty to retire wherever they thought proper; and as for the letters which Pompey had received from several persons, who wished well to his cause, but were afraid to follow him, he burnt them all without reading them; "for although," as Seneca says, "he was extremely severe in his anger, he yet rather chose to deprive himself of the power of resenting. He thought the most obliging and agreeable method of pardoning was to be ignorant of the nature of the offence." Having thus performed all the duties of a general and a statesman, he sent for the legions which had passed the night in the camp, to relieve those which had accompanied him in the pursuit, and being determined to follow Pompey, began his march, and arrived the same day at Larissa.

As for Pompey, who had formerly given such signal proofs of his courage and conduct, when he saw his cavalry routed, upon which he had placed his chief dependence, he seemed altogether to have lost his reason. Instead of endeavouring to rally the troops that fled, or by opposing fresh forces to stop the progress of the enemy, being totally confounded by  
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this first blow, he returned to the camp, and in his tent waited the issue of an event, which it was his duty, if he could, to have rendered favourable. There he remained for some moments without speaking, till being told that the camp was attacked, "What," says he, "are we pursued to our very entrenchments?" and immediately quitting his armour for a habit more suited to his ill fortune, fled on horseback to Larissa. Thence, finding himself less closely pursued, he slackened his pace, giving way all the time to the most bitter reflections. In this melancholy manner he passed along the vale of Tempe, and pursuing the course of the river Peneus, at last arrived at a fisherman's hut, where he spent the night. At day-break he went on board a little bark, and for some time kept along the sea-shore, as he could not venture far from it, on account of the smallness of the boat. At length he descried a ship of some burthen preparing, and instantly embarked in it, the master paying him all the homage that was due to his former station.

From the mouth of the river Peneus he sailed to Amphipolis, where hearing of Cæsar's approach, he steered to Metylene in Lesbos, to take in his wife Cornelia, whom he had left there at a distance from the hurry and tumults of war. She had long flattered herself with the hopes of a complete victory. What then must have been her distress when she heard of the sudden reverse of her fortune, and she was desired by the messenger, whose tears, more than words, proclaimed the greatness of her calamity, to hasten, if she wished to see Pompey, with but one ship, and even that not his own. Her grief, which before was violent, became then insupportable: she fainted away, and lay a considerable time without any signs of life. At length recovering herself, and reflecting it was now no time to indulge her sorrows, she ran quite through the city to the sea side. Pompey received her without speaking a word, and for some time supported her in his arms in silent despair.

AFTER a pause of long continuance, they found words for their distress. Cornelia imputed to herself the disappointment of her husband's hopes, "The condition I find you in," said she, "I can never persuade myself to be the effect of your fortune, which has ever been favourable, but rather of mine, which has always been the reverse. You are obliged to fly with one ship; you, who, before you wedded Cornelia, appeared in these seas with a fleet of five hundred sail. Why came you in search of such an unfortunate wretch as me? Why did you not rather leave me to my ill fortune, which I must now lay you under the necessity of sharing with me?"

Ah ! I should have been happy had I died before my first husband, young Crassus, perished in the Parthian war ; or had I, after that loss, put a period to my life, as I then seriously intended. But it was necessary I should survive, and that too for the only purpose of introducing into Pompey's family the ill luck that has constantly pursued me."

POMPEY endeavoured to comfort her by representing the uncertainty of human affairs : " The constant success," said he, " which has hitherto attended me, has unhappily deceived you. You relied on the continuance of that success ; not reflecting that there is nothing certain in this world. 'Tis from this very uncertainty that I am now induced to entertain fresh hopes. Since I am fallen from so great a height to my present low condition, why may I not from that very condition remount to the grandeur I formerly enjoyed ?"

THE Mityleneans, who had great obligations to Pompey, gathered round them, shared in their grief, and invited them into their city. Pompey, however, declined their invitation, and even advised them to submit to the conqueror ; adding, with a moderation becoming his great soul, that they need be under no apprehension ; for that however Cæsar might be his enemy, he was yet remarkable for his mildness and humanity. Cratippus, the Greek philosopher, came also to pay his compliments. Pompey, as is but too common with people in his situation, complained to him of providence. Cratippus, who was a man of genius, and knew the world, declined entering deeply into the subject, thinking it cruel to say any thing disagreeable, at a time when, in common humanity, he ought only to administer comfort. He therefore artfully changed the conversation, and held out nothing but hopes of better fortune.

POMPEY, having taken in Cornelia, continued his course, steering to the south-east, and stopping no longer than was necessary to procure provisions at the ports that occurred in his passage. He came before Rhodes ; but the Rhodians, who had furnished him with a noble fleet during his prosperity, would no longer acknowledge him in his present reverse of fortune. He therefore proceeded on his voyage, and the first city he entered was Atilia, where he was joined by some ships and about two thousand soldiers. Here he had also the satisfaction to learn, that his youngest son, Sextus, and about sixty senators, who were separated in their flight, had again united, and had formed an association in his favour. Here he also got some intelligence of a fleet, which he had left in the Ionian sea. He was informed, that it was still united under the command of Cato, who with a considerable force was hastening



hastening towards Africa. This led Pompey to some severe reflections on the imprudence of his own conduct. He lamented his having been compelled to leave the decision of his fortune to his land-army alone, without employing his naval forces, in which he had evidently the advantage over his enemies; and he thought himself still less excusable in not taking care to keep near his fleet, where, even in case of a defeat by land, he might have found a remedy for his misfortune, and a force sufficient to stop the progress of the conqueror. It appears, indeed, that Pompey could not have committed a greater mistake than in separating from his fleet, nor could Cæsar have given a stronger proof of his military address than in obliging his enemy to embrace such a measure.

THE force, however, which Pompey had collected, could only help to facilitate his flight, but could not enable him to make head against Cæsar, from whose known and almost incredible activity he was in continual apprehension of a surprise. He had need of an asylum, where he might recover himself, and make fresh preparations; and he did not think any of the provinces of the empire fit for this, or by means tenable. He had every day experience of the unfriendly reception he was likely to meet with; and he had just received advice, that the people, in full council, had decreed neither to receive him, nor any that were attached to him. His only remaining hope, therefore, was from the kings in alliance with and bordering on the empire. He himself thought first of retiring among the Parthians; others proposed Juba, king of Numidia. But Theophanes, for whose opinion he had always a great regard, gave the preference to Egypt, which was not very distant, and whose young king, it was hoped, would have a friendship for Pompey, as being the man that had been appointed his tutor by the Romans, and one that had formerly done his father great service.

ACCORDINGLY, he left Cilicia, where he then was, and steering for the kingdom of Egypt, came in sight of the coast of that country, and sent to the young king to implore protection and assistance. Ptolemy, who was a minor, had not the government in his own hands, but he and his kingdom were under the direction of Pothinus, a eunuch, who acted as prime minister, Achilles, commander in chief of the forces, and Theodotus, a master of rhetoric, who was preceptor to the prince. Before these, therefore, Pompey's request was argued: before such mean and mercenary persons was to be determined the fate of one, who but a few days before had kingdoms at his disposal.

THE opinions of the council were divided. Gratitude and pity inclined some to receive him; whilst others, more obdurate or more timorous, were for denying him entrance into the kingdom. At length Theodotus, as if willing to display his eloquence, maintained that both proposals were equally dangerous; that to admit him was making Pompey their master, and exposing themselves to Cæsar's resentment; and by not receiving him, they offended the one without obliging the other; that, therefore, the most prudent step would be to give him leave to land, and then kill him: this would at once be gratifying Cæsar, and rid them of all apprehensions from Pompey's resentment: "for," added he, with a vulgar and malicious joke, "dead dogs can never bite."

THIS advice, however shocking, was considered as the best, and Achilles undertook to carry it into execution. Accordingly taking with him Septimus, who was by birth a Roman, and had formerly been a centurion in Pompey's troops, another Roman centurion named Silvius, and two or three more, he got into a bark, and made sail for Pompey's ship, which lay about a mile from the shore.

ALL the people of rank, who had accompanied Pompey in his flight, were now come on board his ship, to be witnesses of what passed. But when, instead of the magnificent reception Theophanes had made them expect, they saw only a sorry fishing boat, with five or six persons on board, they began to entertain some suspicions, and advised Pompey to decline going with them. Before any thing, however, could be finally determined, Achilles was come to the ship's side, and in the Greek language welcomed him to Egypt; then invited him into the boat, alledging, that the shallows prevented larger vessels from coming to receive him. Pompey, after having taken leave of Cornelia, who wept at his departure, and having repeated two verses of Sophocles, importing, that he who trusts his freedom to a tyrant, from that moment becomes a slave, gave his hand to Achilles, and stepped into the boat with only two attendants of his own.

THEY had now rowed a considerable way from the ship; and as during that time they had all kept a profound silence, Pompey, willing to begin the discourse, accosted Septimus thus—"Methinks, friend, I remember your having formerly served under me." Septimus gave only a nod with his head, without uttering a word, or shewing the least mark of civility. Pompey, therefore, took out a paper, on which he had minuted down the heads of a speech he intended to make to the king, and began reading it. In this manner they approached the shore; and Cornelia, whose concern had never suffered her to

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lose sight of her husband, began to conceive hope when she saw the people on the strand crowding down along the coasts, as if anxious to receive him. But her hopes were soon destroyed; for that moment, as Pompey rose, supporting himself on his freedman's arms, Septimus stabbed him in the back, and was instantly seconded by Achilles and Silvius.

POMPEY, seeing his death inevitable, prepared himself to meet it with decency; and covering his face with his robe, without speaking a word, with a sigh resigned himself to his fate. At this shocking sight, Cornelia shrieked so loud as to be heard on shore; but the danger she was in did not allow the mariners time to look on. They saw that their only chance of safety was in a precipitate flight. They accordingly weighed anchor, and immediately set sail, and the wind proving favourable, escaped the pursuit of the Egyptian galleys.

IN the mean time Pompey's murderers having cut off his head, caused it to be embalmed, the better to preserve its features, designing it for a present to Cæsar, and expecting, no doubt, a reward for their trouble. The body was thrown naked on the strand, and exposed to the view of all whose curiosity led them to examine it. However, his faithful freedman, Philip, still kept near it, and when the crowd was dispersed, he washed it with sea-water, and wrapt it up in his tunic. Then looking round for materials to burn it according to the Roman custom, he perceived the wreck of a fishing boat, of which he made a pile. While thus piously employed, he was accosted by an old Roman soldier, who had formerly served under Pompey, but for some time past had been settled in Egypt. "Who art thou (said he) that art making these humble preparations for Pompey's funeral?" "One of his freedmen," said Philip. "Alas, (replied the soldier) thou shalt not enjoy this honour alone; allow me, I beseech thee, to share in it with thee; among all the inconveniences attending my settlement in this country, and they are not a few, it will be my last sad comfort, that it has furnished me with an opportunity of assisting at the funeral of my old commander, and touching the body of the bravest general that ever Rome produced." After this, they joined in giving the corpse the last rites, and collecting the ashes, buried them under a little rising earth, scraped together with their hands, over which was afterwards placed the following inscription: "He, whose virtues deserved a temple, can now scarce find a tomb." Appian, however, informs us, that statues were afterwards erected

round this mean sepulchre to the honour of Pompey; but Plutarch says, that the ashes were conveyed into Italy to his beloved spouse, Cornelia, who lodged them in her country-house at Alba.

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## C H A P. XXII.

*From the Death of POMPEY, to the Death of CÆSAR.*

[ANN. ROM. 706.]

THE death of Pompey may truly be said to have put an end to the republican government at Rome; for though Cæsar did not immediately usurp the supreme power, yet having now triumphed over his most capital enemy, he could meet with no further obstruction in doing so whenever he thought proper. But first he resolved to pursue the remains of the conquered army, to prevent their re-assembling in such numbers as to be able to make any further opposition. Imagining that Pompey had fled to Egypt, he immediately set out for that country, and arrived there with about four thousand men. In his way thither, though but in a slight bark, yet, by the very terror of his name, he compelled a fleet of ten ships of war, belonging to Pompey, to surrender at discretion. Upon his landing in Egypt, the first news he received were of Pompey's death; and soon after Theodotus, who had advised the murder of that great man, came to him with his head and ring, as a most grateful present to the conqueror. Cæsar had too much humanity to be pleased with such a shocking sight: he turned away from disgust, and after a short pause, gave vent to his pity in a flood of tears. He even caused the head to be burned with the most costly perfumes, and deposited the ashes in a temple he ordered to be built upon the spot, and which he dedicated to Nemesis, the goddess among the ancients that punished those who were cruel to men in adversity. Perhaps he would have done better, had he discharged the duty of Nemesis himself, and ordered the execution of Theodotus; but this act of justice



was afterwards performed by Brutus, who finding that wretch in Asia, where he endeavoured to conceal himself, ordered him instantly to be put to death.

THOUGH Cæsar met with a favourable reception upon his arrival at Alexandria, a quarrel soon broke out between him and the townsmen. They were offended at his entering the city with the ensigns of Roman power, as if they had been the subjects, not the allies of the Romans. They were likewise degraded with the haughty manner, as they imagined, in which he took upon him to summon their two sovereigns to plead their respective rights to the succession to the throne. The cause of the misunderstanding was this. Ptolemy, the late king of Egypt, had left, at his death, four children; two sons, who were both called Ptolemy; and two daughters, the celebrated Cleopatra, and Arsinoë. By his will he ordered, that the elder of his sons should marry his eldest daughter, and should jointly reign with her. This was a custom, that had prevailed in Egypt for a long time, indeed ever since the reign of Lagus. The union, however, between Ptolemy and Cleopatra, was of very short continuance. That haughty, ambitious princess, had the advantage of her brother in point of years, being seventeen at the time of her father's death, whereas Ptolemy was only thirteen. She therefore claimed a right to govern her brother, and take the administration of affairs into her own hands. But the guardians of the young king, and particularly Pothinus, the prime minister, claimed the sovereign power in their master's name. Things continued in this situation, in the court of Egypt, till at last the Roman senate passed a decree, confirming the will of the late king, and appointing his son to be his successor; and the young prince had no sooner obtained this decision in his favour, than he banished Cleopatra, who with her sister Arsinoë retired into Syria, and assembled an army. Ptolemy marched out to meet her; and the two armies were in sight of each other, and ready to engage, when Cæsar took upon him to decide the controversy.

THE first step he took for this purpose, was to command both parties to dismiss their forces, and appear before him in person, to make good their different claims. Cleopatra readily complied, convinced that, with a man of Cæsar's gallantry, this was the most effectual method of gaining her cause. But Pothinus, who bore an inveterate hatred both to Cæsar and Cleopatra, rejected the proposal in his master's name, and sent an army of twenty thousand men to besiege Alexandria, which was then in the possession of the Romans. Cæsar, however, was able to repulse the enemy for some time; but finding the

city of too great extent to be defended by such a small army as he was then at the head of, he retired to the palace, which commanded the harbour, where he resolved to make his final stand. Achilles, who commanded the Egyptians, attacked him there with great vigour, and endeavoured to make himself master of the fleet that lay before the palace. Cæsar, however, was too sensible of the advantage the enemy would derive from those ships, to allow them to fall into the hands of Achilles; and he therefore burnt them all, in spite of every effort to prevent him. Unhappily some of the vessels on fire communicated the flames to the adjacent quarter of the town; and the celebrated Alexandrian library, which had been collected by so many kings, and contained above 480,000 volumes, was entirely destroyed. This was, no doubt, a loss to the learned world, even making allowance for the low state of literature at that time. Cæsar then took possession of the Isle of Pharos, the key to the Alexandrian port; by which means he was enabled to receive the supplies which were sent him; and in this situation, he determined to resist the united force of the Egyptians. In the mean time Cleopatra prepared to make her appearance before her new judge; but how to get at him was the difficulty, as her enemies were possessed of all the avenues to the palace. At last she fell upon the following stratagem. Having embarked on board a small vessel, she landed, in the evening, near the palace, and being there wrapt up in a coverlet, she was carried as a bundle of clothes into his very apartment. Her person at first pleased him; her wit and understanding made a still stronger impression; but her caresses, which were carried beyond the bounds of innocence, effectually secured his favour.

WHILE Cleopatra was thus employed in forwarding her own views, her sister Arsinoë was no less strenuously engaged in pursuing a separate interest. She had been able, by the assistance of one Ganymede, her confidant, to draw over a part of the Egyptian army to her side; and soon after entering the camp, she caused Achilles to be murdered, and Ganymede to succeed him in the command, and to carry on the siege with greater vigour than ever. Ganymede's first effort was by letting in the sea upon those canals, which supplied the palace with fresh water; but this inconvenience Cæsar remedied by digging a great number of wells. He next built a fleet, and attacked that of the Romans; but though the latter were greatly inferior to the enemy both in the size and number of their ships, they yet gained advantages. He next made himself master of the Isle of Pharos. Cæsar was determined to drive him from this post. He landed on the island, and got possession



effion of it, and of the bridge that led from the isle to the causeway. But the enemy remained masters of another bridge, that joined the causeway to the continent.. The next day Cæsar returned to the charge, and caused this bridge to be attacked on one side by some of his ships, and on the other by three cohorts which he had posted on the causeway. The enemy fought bravely; their land-forces defended the entrance of the bridge; and from their ships they discharged their slings and arrows on the causeway.

IN the heat of the action, some marines and rowers of the Roman fleet, partly through ambition, and partly curiosity, came and joined the combatants; but being seized with a panic, instantly fled, and spread a general terror through the enemy. All Cæsar's endeavours to rally his forces were in vain; the confusion was past remedy; and many were either killed or drowned in attempting to escape. Above eight hundred men are supposed to have perished in this action. Cæsar, seeing the irremediable disorder of his troops, retired to a ship, in order to get to the palace that was just opposite: but he was no sooner on board, than such crowds entered at the same time, that apprehending the ship would sink, which it soon after did, he jumped into the sea, and swam two hundred paces to the fleet that lay before the palace, all the while holding his commentaries in his left hand above water, and drawing his coat of mail after him with his teeth. However he had the fortune to lose his coat of armour, which was rather an advantage; for being of a purple colour, and remarkably bright, it sustained all the fury of the enemy's shot, while Cæsar swam on without being known or observed. The Alexandrians took it, and made it the principal ornament in the trophy they erected on the place of the engagement.

THE enemy now despairing of being able to take the place, endeavoured at least to get their king out of Cæsar's hands, as he had seized upon his person in the beginning of their disputes. For this purpose they had recourse to their usual duplicity, professing the sincerest desire of peace, and only wanting, as they said, their lawful prince to give a sanction to the treaty. Cæsar was too quick sighted not to discover their aims: nevertheless he concealed his suspicions, and suffered Ptolemy to join them, as he was under no apprehensions from the abilities of a boy. Ptolemy was then but fifteen years of age, and at his leaving Alexandria affected to be deeply concerned. He even shed tears on the occasion, and said, that he took more pleasure in the company of Cæsar than in the possession of a crown. He had no sooner, however, recovered his

his liberty than he did every thing in his power to push on the war with redoubled vigour.

IN this manner was Cæsar hemmed in by this artful and insidious enemy, with all manner of difficulties against him; the season of the year, for it was winter; and the scarcity of provisions, which he could not easily procure, the Egyptians being possessed of all the adjacent country: but from this mortifying situation he was at last relieved by Mithridates Pergamenus, one of his most faithful partizans, who came with an army to his assistance. Upon the breaking out of the war, Cæsar had sent this general into Syria and Cilicia, to raise troops for his service. Mithridates acquitted himself of this commission with great fidelity; and finding the people very favourably inclined, he in a short time assembled a numerous body of forces, at the head of which he now advanced into Egypt, took Pelusium, repulsed the Egyptian army with loss, and joining Cæsar, and attacking their camp, committed a terrible slaughter among the enemy: Ptolemy himself attempting to escape on board a vessel that was sailing down the river, was drowned by the ship's sinking, and Cæsar became master of all Egypt without further opposition. He then appointed Cleopatra, with her younger brother, an infant, joint sovereigns according to the intent of their father's will, and took Ariadne with him, to prevent her forming any cabals against the government.

HAVING thus regulated all affairs of a public nature, he thought he might devote some time to the gratification of his private pleasures. In fact, he was so captivated with the charms of Cleopatra, that he could not think of leaving her. Instead of going to Africa to quell the remains of Pompey's party, he spent whole nights with the young queen in feasting, revelling, and every kind of debauchery. He even proposed attending her up the Nile into Æthiopia; but the brave veterans, who had long followed his fortune, boldly remonstrated against such an expedition, and absolutely refused to have any share in it. Thus, at length, roused from his lethargy, he resolved to prefer the call of ambition to that of love, and to leave Cleopatra, by whom he had a son, afterwards named Cæsario, in order to oppose Pharnaces, who had made some inroads upon the dominions of Rome, in the east.

THIS prince, who was the son of the great Mithridates, whom (as we have mentioned above) he had unnaturally murdered, being desirous of recovering the dominions of his ancestors, seized upon Armenia and Colchis, and overcame Domitius, who had been sent against him. Upon Cæsar's approach he was sensible that he had a very different enemy to  
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deal with. He therefore endeavoured to gain time by every art in his power. With this view he sent ambassadors to propose an accommodation; but Cæsar detesting alike his cruelty and perfidy, came suddenly upon him, and attacking him unawares, put him to a total rout. Pharnaces was reduced to a most miserable situation. Asander, one of his generals, had revolted against him, and made himself master of a great part of his dominions; and attacking his sovereign, as he was returning to his capital, the latter lost at once the battle and his life: a punishment too slight for his multiplied crimes. As to Cæsar, he gained the victory with so much ease, that he could not help observing, that Pompey had been very happy in obtaining the surname of Great by triumphing over so feeble a foe. In writing to a friend at Rome, he expressed the rapidity of his conquest in three words; *Veni, vidi, vici*; I came, saw, and overcame; and when he afterwards triumphed on account of this victory, he caused a tablet to be carried before him, with these very words inscribed on it in capitals.

HAVING now settled all affairs in this part of the world as well as he could, he returned to Rome, where his presence was indisputably necessary. He had been created, during his absence, consul for five years, dictator for one year, and tribune for life. But Anthony, who in the mean time governed in Rome for him, had filled the city with riot and debauchery, and many commotions ensued, which nothing but the presence of Cæsar could possibly appease. This, indeed, he effectually did; for, by his great moderation and humanity, he soon restored tranquillity to the city, making scarce any distinction between the friends of his own party and those of the other. Having thus re-established his authority at home, he prepared to march into Africa, where Pompey's party had found time to rally under Scipio and Cato, assisted by Juba, king of Mauritania. But the execution of this project had like to have been interrupted by a mutiny in his own army. Those veteran legions, who had hitherto enabled him to make all his conquests, began to murmur at not having received the rewards that had been promised them, and now insisted upon their discharge. The sedition broke out in the tenth legion, which had ever till then signalized themselves by their valour and attachment to their general. Cæsar had not then wherewithal to satisfy them. He could only give them fresh assurances; and he accordingly sent Sallust, the new prætor, to acquaint them, that as soon as he had finished the African war, he would not only bestow upon them the lands and money he had already promised them, but likewise an additional gratuity of a thousand denarii, that is about thirty guineas a man. These offers

offers, which fell so far short of the soldiers expectations, served only to render them more desperate. Sallust was obliged to save himself by flight, and the whole army, which was now wound up to the highest pitch of resentment, immediately set out for Rome, plundering and pillaging all in their way, and even killing two old prætors whom they happened to meet. Cæsar was apprehensive for the safety of the city; and he therefore caused the gates to be shut, and such as were in readiness to defend the walls. But he took these precautions for the security of the city, not of his own person; for as soon as he heard of the arrival of the mutineers in the Campus Martius, where they at last assembled, he boldly went out to them, and mounting the tribunal, he sternly demanded what they wanted, or who had brought them there? This resolute conduct seemed at once to confound them. They dared not so much as to mention the rewards, the delay in bestowing which had been the original cause of the mutiny. They only said, that being worn out with fatigue, and exhausted by their numberless wounds, they were in hopes to obtain a discharge. “Then take your discharge (cried Cæsar), and when I shall have gained new victories with other troops, I will then perform my promise to you.”

THE soldiers were thunderstruck at these expressions. They little thought he would have granted them their discharge so easily, especially at a time when he stood so much in need of their assistance; and they began to be afraid that another army might have the honour of finishing the conquest of the world, which they themselves had so nearly achieved. They therefore unanimously solicited his pardon, and even offered to be decimated to obtain it. Cæsar said that he had no intention of spilling their blood; but that soldiers, who were still capable of service, and yet refused to obey orders, could expect no slighter punishment than that of being discharged. They again renewed their entreaties for pardon; and Cæsar at last, though with seeming reluctance, granted as a favour what it was his interest earnestly to desire.

UPON his arrival in Africa, he soon came to a general engagement with the enemy near Thapsus, and obtained over them a complete victory, with very little loss on his own side. Juba and Petreius, his generals, killed each other in despair: Scipio, attempting to escape by sea into Spain, fell in among the enemy, and was slain; so that of all the generals of that unfortunate party, Cato was the only one that now remained alive.

THIS extraordinary man, who was equally proof against the smiles and frowns of fortune, having retired into Africa after  
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the battle of Pharsalia, had led the few troops who survived that defeat through burning sands, and tracts infested with various kinds of serpents, and was now in the city of Utica, which he had been left to defend.

STILL, however, in love even with the appearance of a republic, he had formed the principal citizens, who attended him, into a senate, and conceived a resolution of holding out the town. He accordingly assembled his senators upon this occasion, and demanded their advice upon what measures were best to be taken, and whether they should defend this last city that owned the cause of freedom. “If (said he) you are determined to submit to Cæsar, I must ascribe your resolution to necessity. If, on the contrary, you bear up against your misfortunes, and are willing to sustain the burthen, and encounter the danger of defending your liberty; in that case I not only applaud and admire your virtue, but offer myself to be your guide and companion in so glorious an enterprize to the very last extremity. It is not Utica, gentlemen, nor any other city in Africa, that is our country: it is Rome; Rome, who, through a noble opposition to slavery, has often recovered from greater calamities than those that now oppress her. There are many motives to encourage us, and we have great reason to hope for success, especially if we reflect that our enemy is embroiled on all sides. Spain has declared for young Pompey; and Rome itself, though subject to the tyrant, bears its yoke with indignation, and will take the first opportunity to shake it off. With regard to the dangers we run, why should they terrify us? Let us profit by the example of our enemy, who braves all dangers to commit the most horrid crimes; whereas the risk we run is of a very different nature. It is to enjoy a happy life, if we succeed; or if we fail, to share the most honourable of all deaths, that of perishing in defence of our country. However, I would have you reflect before you determine; and I wish, on account of the virtue and courage you have already shewn, that your determination may tend to your own advantage.”

THIS speech at first had a surprising effect. Some of them were struck with the force of Cato's arguments; but what they chiefly admired was his generosity, intrepidity, and composure of mind. They even almost forgot their danger and distress; and giving vent to a kind of enthusiasm, they bestowed the highest encomiums on Cato, as alone invincible and superior to fortune. They therefore made him a tender of their purses, their persons, and their arms, to be disposed of as he thought proper; being convinced, as they said, that it was more honourable to sacrifice their lives in obedience to his orders,

orders, than to save them by betraying a man of his character.

BUT all this generous ardour was, as it were, but a mere flash, which the first reflection extinguished, and which ceased to blaze the moment it was necessary to confirm their words by their actions. It was proposed to set the slaves at liberty, to be employed as soldiers in the defence of the city. But Cato, who always regulated his conduct by the most rigid rules of justice, said, that he would not injure the masters so much as to take their slaves from them; but that he would willingly accept of as many as the proprietors thought proper to give him. The Roman senators who were with him readily approved of this proposal; but the bulk of the assembly, which was composed of men of trade and business, were instantly damped at the thoughts of suffering so considerable a loss; and their fear of Cæsar at the same time reviving, they quickly lost all their sentiments of honour, and their respect for Cato.

“WHO are we (said they to one another) and to whom do we refuse to submit? Does not Cæsar, in his single person, comprehend all the forces of the empire; and are we Scipios, Pompeys, or Catos, to oppose him? What! at a time when the whole world submits to his yoke, when the most determined courage is not without apprehensions, shall we undertake the defence of Roman liberty? shall we dispute the possession of Utica with him, to whom Cato and Pompey the Great have abandoned Italy? And shall we set our slaves at liberty to fight against Cæsar, when we ourselves have no more liberty left, than he is pleased to allow us? If we have not entirely lost our senses, let us be more just to ourselves, and let the means of obtaining Cæsar’s pardon be now our only concern.”

CATO finding it in vain to force liberty upon people who were determined to be slaves, at last took his resolution. He desired some of his friends to save themselves by sea, and advised others to trust to Cæsar’s clemency; observing, that, as to himself, he was at length victorious. After supping cheerfully among his friends, he retired to his apartment, where he behaved to his son and all his domestics with unusual tenderness. When he came into his bed-chamber, he laid himself down, and took up Plato’s dialogue on the immortality of the soul; and having read for some time, happening to cast his eyes to the head of his bed, he was much surprised not to find his sword there, which had been taken away by his son’s order while they were at supper. Upon this, calling one of his servants, he asked what was become of his sword;  
and



and receiving no answer, he resumed his reading. Some time after he again asked for his sword, but without any hurry or passion, as if he had no particular use for it. When he had done reading, perceiving that nobody was disposed to bring it him, he called all his servants one by one, and raising his voice, told them, that he was determined to have his sword. His son now came into the room, and with tears in his eyes brought him in the most humble manner to alter his resolution. Cato immediately got up, and with a look that bespoke his resentment, said, "Since when, then, have I lost my senses, that my son is become my keeper? I am treated just like a madman. No one makes use of argument or persuasion to undeceive me, if I am in an error; but I am to be prevented disposing of my person by being disarmed. Brave and generous son (added he) why do you not put your father in chains; why do you not tie my hands behind me, till Cæsar come, and find me incapable of defence? Had I a mind to destroy myself, I could equally effect it without a sword; since by holding my breath for a few moments, or only dashing my head against the wall, I could dispatch myself, were I so disposed." These terrible words so shocked young Cato, that he retired with loud lamentations.

His father being now alone with the two philosophers, Demetrius and Apollonides, spoke to them more mildly: "Do you also (said he) approve of forcing a man of my years to live against his inclination, and keeping a constant watch over his actions? Or have you any reasons to convince me, that it is not unworthy Cato to owe his life to his enemy? Why, then, do you not display these arguments, which are so new to me, that by renouncing the maxims in which we were educated, and growing wiser by Cæsar's lessons, we may be still the more obliged to him?"

DEMETRIUS and Apollonides knowing it would be in vain to make him any answer, retired weeping. One of his servants brought him his sword. Cato drew it, examined it, and finding the point sharp, and fit for execution, "Now (said he) I am my own master." He laid down his sword, took up his book, and read it from beginning to end. Plutarch assures us, that he afterwards slept, and that so soundly, that those who waited without, and listened at the door, heard him snore. Upon waking, he called to one of his freedmen to know if his friends were embarked, or if any thing more could be done to serve them. The freedman assuring him that all was quiet, he was ordered again to leave the room, and Cato no sooner found himself alone, than, seizing his sword, he stabbed himself in the breast. The blow not dispatching him,

him, he fell from his bed, and overturned a table on which he had been drawing some geometrical figures. At the noise he made in his fall, his servants gave a shriek, and his son and friends immediately entered the room. They found him weltering in his gore, with his bowels pushed out through the wound. The surgeon perceiving that the intestines were untouched, was for replacing them; but Cato recovering his senses, and understanding their intention was to preserve his life, pushed the surgeon from him, and with a desperate resolution tore out his bowels and expired. He was forty-eight years of age when he died. Upon hearing of his death, Cæsar observed, that as Cato had envied him the glory of saving his life, so he had reason to envy the glory of dying so bravely.

THIS event terminating the war in Africa, Cæsar returned in triumph to Rome; and as if he had intended to abridge all his former triumphs only to increase the splendor of this, the citizens were astonished at the magnificence of the procession, and the number of the countries he had subdued. It lasted four days. The first was for Gaul, the second for Egypt, the third for his victories in Asia, and the fourth for that over Juba in Africa. His veterans, covered with scars, attended their triumphant general, crowned with laurels, to the capitol. To every one of these he gave a sum equivalent to about an hundred and sixty pounds sterling, double that sum to the centurions, and four times as much to the superior officers. The citizens also partook of his bounty. To every one he distributed ten bushels of corn, ten pounds of oil, and a sum of money equal to about three pounds sterling. After this, he entertained the people at twenty-two thousand tables, and treated them with the combat of gladiators, which filled Rome with a crowd of spectators from every part of Italy.

THE people, intoxicated with the allurements of pleasure, thought their freedom too small a return for such benefits. Indeed they were now become so degenerate, that they seemed even more eager to part with their liberty than the dictator was to seize it. Nay, they were industrious to find out new titles of honour by which they might address him. He was created *Magister Morum*, or master of the morals of the people: he received the august title of *Pater Patriæ*, or father of his country, and the name of *Imperator*, or emperor, not in the sense in which it was formerly used, which was that of conqueror, but as signifying the man that possessed the whole authority of the republic; and this may be considered as the beginning of the imperial government of Rome, though it was not established till some years after.



It must be acknowledged, however, that so great an authority could never have been committed to better hands ; for though his conduct, in private life, was, in many respects, extremely vicious, he was yet possessed of the same admirable talents for regulating the affairs of civil government as for directing those of a military nature. He began his reign by repressing vice, and encouraging virtue. He entrusted the power of judicature to the senators and the knights alone, and by many sumptuary laws restrained the scandalous luxuries of the rich. He reformed the calendar, and with the assistance of the ablest astronomers, regulated the year according to the course of the sun, allotting to each year 365 days, and adding one day more to every fourth year, which was called bissextile or leap-year. This was afterwards named the Julian period or old style, in opposition to the new style or Gregorian period ; which last, though it had been long used in the other kingdoms of Europe, was not introduced into England till the year 1752.

HAVING thus restored prosperity to Rome, he again found himself under a necessity of going into Spain, to oppose an army which had been raised there under the two sons of Pompey, and Labienus, his former general. Cneius and Sextus, Pompey's sons, profiting by their unhappy father's fate, resolved to protract the war as much as possible. Cneius was then besieging Ulla, and Sextus was in Corduba with a strong garrison. Cæsar advanced towards the latter city ; upon which Cneius raised the siege of Ulla, and endeavoured to oppose him. Cæsar at first attempted to bring Cneius to a battle, but finding that impossible, he invested and reduced a great number of cities.

POMPEY, fearing that all the other towns in the province would soon share the same fate, resolved to come to a general engagement. The two armies accordingly met upon the plains of Munda, and a dreadful conflict ensued. Cæsar's men were animated by hope, Pompey's by despair. The former thought they should make this a final period to their military labours ; the latter having been pardoned upon their being defeated in Africa, had no farther mercy to expect, should they again be overcome. The first shock was so terrible, that Cæsar's troops, who had hitherto been used to conquer, began to give way. Cæsar was never in so much danger as now : he threw himself into the very thickest of the fight, crying out to his men, " What, are you going to give up your general, who is grown grey in fighting at your head, to a parcel of boys ?" Upon this the tenth legion, willing to recover their general's former favour, exerted themselves with more than usual bravery ; and a party of horse being detached by Labienus in pursuit

pursuit of a body of Numidian cavalry, Cæsar cried aloud, that they were flying. This cry instantly spread itself through both armies, animating the one as much as it discouraged the other. Now, therefore, the tenth legion pressed forward, and a total rout soon ensued. Thirty thousand men were killed on Pompey's side, and amongst them Labienus and Varus, on whom Cæsar bestowed the usual funeral honours. His own loss amounted to a thousand killed, and about five hundred wounded. It is evident that the contest must have been extremely obstinate; for Cæsar afterwards was often heard to say, that on all other occasions he had fought for victory, but at Munda he fought for life.

As to the two Pompey's, Cneius escaped with a few horsemen to the sea-side, but finding his passage intercepted by Cæsar's lieutenants, he was obliged to seek for a retreat in an obscure cavern. There, wounded and destitute of all kind of support, he patiently awaited the approach of the enemy. He was soon discovered by some of Cæsar's troops, who cut off his head, and brought it to the conqueror. His brother Sextus had better fortune. He concealed himself so well in the mountains of Celtiberia, that he eluded the researches of his most active pursuers; so that Cæsar was obliged to return without him, after having severely punished the cities of Spain for their late pretended revolt.

CÆSAR having, by this last victory, subdued all his avowed enemies, returned to Rome to receive an accumulation of new dignities.

THE senate indeed seemed to be more eager to load him with honours than he was to accept them. He was so far from claiming any merit from the victory he had gained at Munda, that he did not even send an account of it to Rome; but the news of it had no sooner reached that city, than the senators, with a servility which marks their degeneracy, decreed that public thanksgivings should be returned for it to the gods for the space of fifty days. Still, however, Cæsar maintained an appearance of moderation in his outward conduct, though he left no opportunity of increasing his real power. He left the consuls to be named by the people, but as he retained to himself the whole authority of the office, it was of little consequence by whom it was possessed. He was even pleased to pardon all those who had borne arms against him; but not till he had deprived them of the power of resistance. Nay, he replaced the statues of Pompey, which, however, as Cicero observes, was only an artful way of securing his own.

HAVING thus seized into his own hands the whole power of the state, he began to undertake such magnificent works as

might



might dazzle the eyes of his countrymen, and make them insensible of the disgrace they had sustained in the loss of their liberty. He intended to add to the ornaments of Rome by two superb edifices, of which he had already formed the plans, and laid the foundations. One was a theatre of an immense extent at the foot of the bottom of the Capitoline hill; the other was a temple to Mars, which was to be much bigger than any that had been yet seen in the world. Both these works were completed by his successor. He employed the learned Varro to form a library of all the Greek and Latin authors, which he intended for the use of the public. He rebuilt Carthage and Corinth, sending colonies to both cities: he proposed making a road all the way from the Adriatic sea to Rome, across the Appenine mountains, and to drain the Pontine marshes, which were not only useless, but extremely noisome; and he even designed to cut a canal through the isthmus of Corinth, so as to save the seamen the trouble of doubling the extremity of Peloponnesus.— But the greatest of all his undertakings, was the expedition he intended against the Parthians, by which he designed to revenge the death of Crassus, who, having penetrated too far into their country, was overthrown, himself taken prisoner, and put to a cruel death, by having molten gold poured down his throat, as a punishment for his former avarice. From thence Cæsar intended to go, by Hyrcania, to the borders of the Caspian sea, to pass mount Caucasus, then to penetrate into Scythia, whose frightful deserts he meant to traverse, and lastly to return, by Germany and Gaul, into Italy. These, it must be owned, were mighty projects, though some of them perhaps were scarce to be effected by any human power, and have been since attempted in vain by several princes, particularly the draining of the Pontine marshes, and the cutting a canal through the isthmus of Corinth.

CÆSAR, however, by these means gained the principal end he aimed at: he impressed his countrymen with such a firm belief of the extraordinary powers and abilities of his mind, that they actually looked upon him as something more than human, and they accordingly continued to load him with fresh honours and dignities. They called one of the months of the year after his name, namely the month of July, which had hitherto been called *Quintilis*, as being the fifth month from March, when the Romans began to reckon their year; but from this time forward it was called July, in honour of *Julius Cæsar*; and hence is derived our present month July. They even decreed him divine honours, sacrifices, incense, libations, altars, temples, fixt feasts, priests, and lastly the appeal-

appellation of *Jupiter Julius*; and Antony, his colleague in the consulship, was appointed the priest of this new deity. Orders were issued for statues to be erected to him in every temple and every city; and particularly two in the place of harangues; one of which wore the *corona civica*, implying that he had saved the citizens; and the other the *corona obsidionalis*, signifying that he had delivered his country. He also had a statue erected to him in the temple of Quirinus, by the name of the invincible god; and another in the capitol, close to those of the ancient kings of Rome, in the midst of which stood that of Lucius Brutus, the author and avenger of the Roman liberty. These two last statues seemed rather to be ominously placed for the person they were intended to honour. Quirinus, or Romulus, was torn in pieces by the senators, as a tyrant and oppressor; and Cicero says, in a letter to Atticus, that he was much better pleased to see Cæsar associated with Quirinus than with the goddess of safety. As to Cæsar's statue, which was placed next to that of the elder Brutus, it probably served as a hint to the younger Brutus, who afterwards became the principal conspirator.

BUT though Cæsar was now invested with the whole power of the state, and certainly enjoyed all the authority of a king, he yet was not satisfied unless he had the title; and to obtain this, he employed a variety of expedients. Upon his return from mount Albany, where he had been to celebrate the *Feriz Latinæ*, he entered the city in a kind of petty triumph; and among other compliments which his creatures paid him, some had even the temerity to proclaim him king. But the people, instead of shewing their approbation, testified their astonishment by their silence; and the dictator finding they were not yet disposed to grant him such a favour, replied, that he was not king, but Cæsar.

HITHERTO, however, he had done nothing that could subject him to the charge of directly affecting the royalty; but the following circumstance was universally considered as a sign of aiming at such a distinction. Some person having, on this very occasion, put a crown on one of Cæsar's statues, two of the tribunes, Epidius Marullus and Cæsetius Flavus, not only ordered the crown to be taken off, but committed the man to prison. They even made enquiry about those who had proclaimed Cæsar king, and having discovered them, they likewise sent them to prison, and threatened to commence a prosecution against them.

IN point of good policy, Cæsar should have commended the zeal of the tribunes; but instead of acting with so much prudence, he bitterly complained of the affront they had offered him



him. He said they had deprived him of the glory of declining an honour that had been illegally conferred upon him, and had done all in their power to make the people believe that he aspired to the royalty. Nor did he confine himself to complaints, but insisted that the tribunes should be removed from their office; and this they accordingly were by a law proposed by Cinna, one of their number, and a devoted partizan of the dictator's. Nay, he carried his resentment so far, as to require the father of Cæsetius to disinherit him; but this the old man refused to do; and Cæsar, who, even in his greatest acts of injustice, always preserved some sentiments of generosity, could not be offended at so laudable a resolution.

THIS affair, however, served to betray his thoughts with respect to the royalty; and notwithstanding the different pretences he used to cover his resentment against the tribunes, there was no person so dull as not to perceive the real motive. Or had there been any doubt remaining, Antony took care to remove it, and that too in the most public manner. In celebrating the Lupercalia, or festival of Pan, Antony, though at that time actual consul, officiated as one of the Luperci, or priests of this extravagant ceremony. While the people were engaged in attending to the sports, Cæsar was sitting on a golden throne in the place of harangues, dressed in triumphal robes, and crowned with laurel. In this situation, he was accosted by Antony, who presented him with the diadem. The universal murmuring of those who were present was a sufficient hint to Cæsar to decline the proffered honour; and the huzzas which accompanied his refusal shewed that the people highly approved of his conduct. Antony, however, made a second attempt, and even fell down before the dictator, as if it had been to move him to compliance. But the people still observed a profound silence, and by that means prevented Cæsar from accepting of what he most earnestly desired. Instead of putting the crown on his head, he placed it upon his throne; but perceiving that the people were not yet satisfied, he sent it to the capitol, observing, at the same time, that Jupiter was the only king of the Romans. He permitted it, however, to be registered in the Fasti, or journal of public events, that, on the feast of Pan, the consul Antony having, by order of the people, tendered the crown to Cæsar, he had had the magnanimity to reject it.

FINDING it now impossible to obtain the title of king at Rome, he resolved, at least, to procure it in the provinces. With this view he persuaded Cotta, one of the priests who had the keeping of the Sybilline books, to represent to the senate, that, according to the predictions contained in these

books, the Parthians could not be conquered but by a king; and that it was therefore necessary, before Cæsar set out on his Parthian expedition, to invest with that title at least in the provinces. This is generally acknowledged as a fact; and it is the more remarkable, as Cæsar appears to have been sensible of the danger he incurred by such an open affectation of the royalty; for the very day, on which Antony had offered him the crown as he returned home, he laid bare his throat, and said, that his enemies now had nothing to do but to strike, as they were certainly furnished with the most substantial of all reasons for putting him to death.

His observation undoubtedly was well founded; and it was at that very time that the conspiracy, by which he fell, was first set on foot. The Romans in general were exasperated against him; and they took care to shew their resentment in the most conspicuous and yet in a covert manner. On the statue of the elder Brutus, the following inscription was placed—"Would thou couldst come to life again!" And on that of Cæsar—"Brutus, for having expelled the kings, was created the first consul; and this man, for having expelled the consuls, is at last become king." The eyes of men now began to be turned towards Marcus Brutus, who then enjoyed the office of prætor; and he received several hints, exhorting him to shew himself worthy of his name. He frequently heard it said—We want a Brutus; and he found, on the tribunal where he sat as judge, several billets and inscriptions, which reflected on his inactivity—"Brutus, you are asleep; you are no true Brutus." He continued not long, however, to merit this accusation, but soon became the principal leader and conductor of the conspiracy. Not that the anonymous exhortations were his principal motive, or that he himself was the first contriver of the plot: Cassius was the person that engaged him in it.

THIS man had long harboured a design against Cæsar's life; and he intended, at one time, to have effected his purpose by private assassination; but having now formed a more regular plan for ridding himself at once of a personal enemy, and his country of a tyrant and oppressor, he endeavoured to procure the assistance of as many of his friends as possible. With this view he began to sound them; and they all promised most readily to join him, provided that Brutus would consent to undertake the management of the plot. "We must not build our hopes (said they) on our numbers, nor even on our courage; but the great point is to get such a man as Brutus at our head, whose name alone can justify our proceedings. Without that, we shall want resolution, and our measures will be



be liable to censure; for no one will believe, that if we had equity on our side, Brutus would have refused to be of our party." So high an opinion had the people of Brutus's virtue, which he enjoyed unenvied by Cassius; and the latter, to shew his approbation of what had been said, was willing to make the first advances to his brother-in-law; for Cassius had married Brutus's sister, and a coldness had for some time subsisted between them in consequence of a dispute they had had about the right of precedence in the prætorship, which they both then enjoyed.

ACCORDINGLY Cassius waited upon Brutus, and after a reconciliation made, and reciprocal assurances of friendship given, he asked him whether he should be at the senate on the first day of March, on which, he said, he had heard, that Cæsar's friends intended to make him king. Brutus having answered, that he should not be there; "But what (said Cassius) if we should be personally cited?" "My duty then (replied Brutus) will teach me not to be silent, but to defend the cause of freedom, though death should be the consequence." These words encouraged Cassius, who now made no scruple to explain himself. "And is a Roman living, (replied he with some warmth) will suffer you to die before him? Can you be so ignorant of your own worth, or of the high estimation in which you are held by all your fellow citizens? Can you possibly think, that the inscriptions, which you have read on your tribunal, were placed there by the mob, and by people of no consequence, and not by the principal and most dignified persons in the republic? Let others indulge their taste for magnificence by displaying their liberality, and exhibiting public shows and combats of gladiators: from you 'tis expected, as a debt due to your name, and to the glory of your ancestors, that you should free your country from tyrants. All honest citizens are ready to join you, could they once be convinced that you are heartily engaged in the cause."

AFTER this, Brutus made no farther difficulty in undertaking the management of the plot; and he and Cassius exerted themselves so strenuously, that the number of conspirators was soon raised to upwards of sixty. Among these were Legarius, Trebonius, Labeo, Servilius, Casca and his brother, Tullius Cimber, Menacius Basilius, and others, all of them persons of the first rank in Rome. Even a woman was let into the secret; or, to speak more properly, having half discovered their design, she compelled them to admit her. This was the noble Porcia, whose fortitude was such as might have been expected from the daughter of Cato, and the wife of Brutus. Though the latter had undertaken the management